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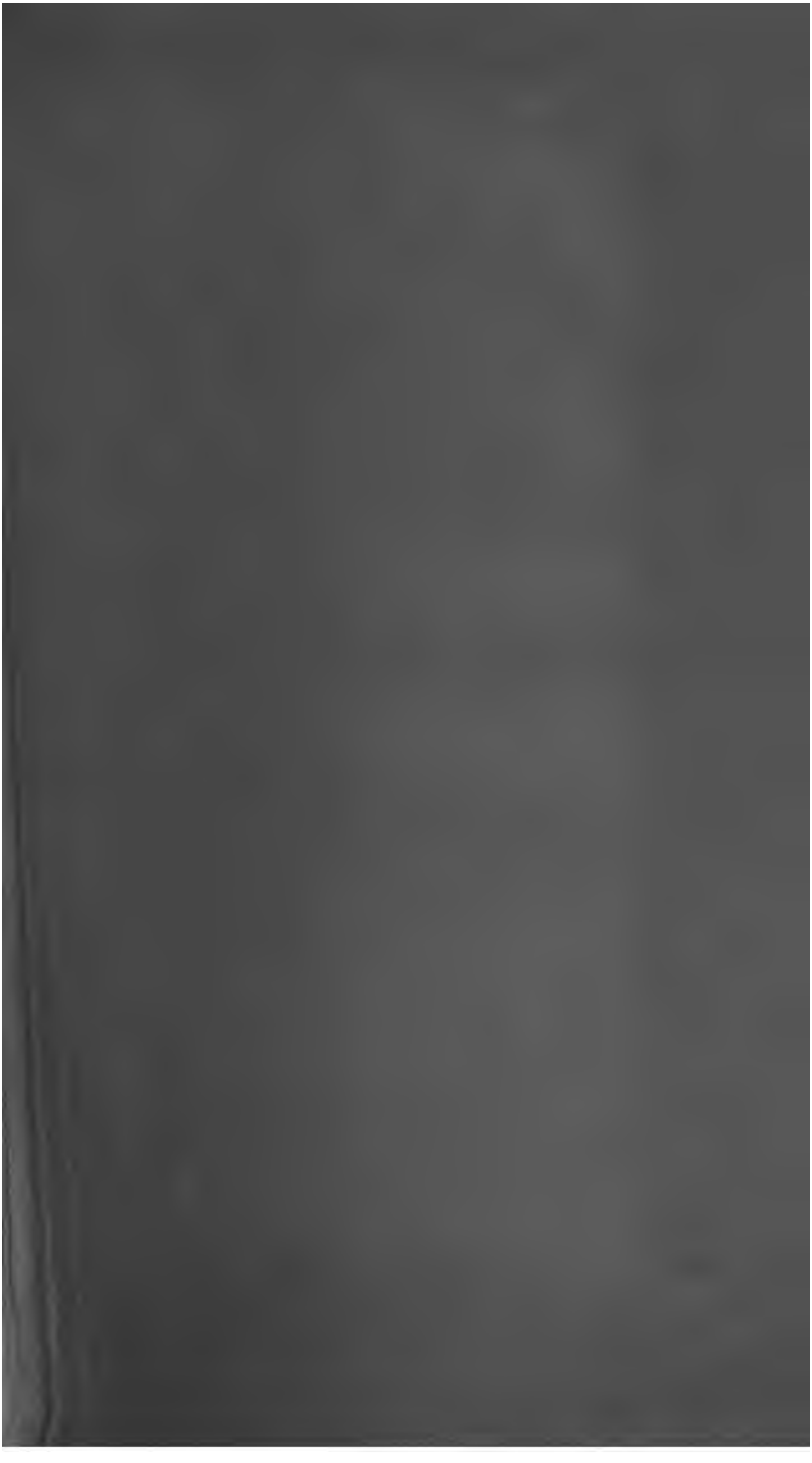

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THE

MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS

Of the late REVEREND and LEARNED

CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D.

Principal Librarian of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

In FIVE VOLUMES.

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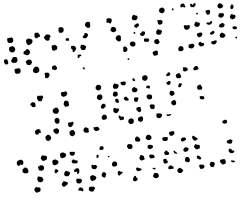

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A LET-

A

LETTER

TO

Dr. *WATERLAND*;

Containing ſome REMARKS on his

Vindication of Scripture:

In Anſwer to a BOOK, intituled,

Chriſtianity as old as the Creation,

Together with

The SKETCH or PLAN

OF

Another Anſwer to the ſaid BOOK.

A

LETTER

TO

Dr. *WATERLAND.*

SIR,

I HAVE lately read a *Piece of yours*, called, *Scripture Vindicated, in anſwer to a Book, intituled, Chriſtianity as old as the Creation.* I ſat down to it, I confeſs, with ſome kind of eagerneſs; expecting from the great reputation of your name, as well as the great importance of the ſubject, to find in it ſomething ſolid and convincing, anſwerable to the difficulty of the taſk you had undertaken, of reconciling *all the exceptionable paſſages of Scripture* to reaſon and morality.

But I had not entered far, before I perceived the vanity of my expectation, and foreſaw the diſappointment I was like to ſuffer in my hopes of entertainment and ſatisfaction from a work, which partly from its own nature, but eſpecially from your method of handling it, ſeems calculated rather to raiſe *new ſcruples*, than to quiet *old ones*; and to expoſe the *Scripture you*

are vindicating to freſh ridicule and contempt, than to convince either the *Author* you have to deal with, or any others of *ſceptical* and *unſettled* minds: the reaſons of which opinion I ſhall without further preface or ceremony proceed to explain to you very freely.

Your *Introduction* begins by opening to us the deſign of the *Author* you are confuting; telling us, that *his book is a declamatory libel againſt revealed Religion, under colour of ſetting up natural Religion in its place*; that he diſcovers in it *two principal ends*; *the one, to vilify the holy Scripture*; *the other, to magnify the law of Nature*: In the firſt, you own he deals *frankly and from his heart*; in the latter, you charge him with hypocriſy and diſſimulation; aſſuring us, that all he ſays is *but flam*, and that in reality he is no more a friend *to natural Religion than he is to revealed.*

This you ſupport by declaring that *Natural Religion is ſo bound up in Revealed, that they cannot ſubſiſt ſeparately*; *muſt ſtand or fall together*; and conſequently, *if he had been a friend to one, it is not conceivable how he could be an adverſary to the other.*

But this, Sir, I'm afraid, will make but litt' impreſſion on your adverſary; will paſs w' him for *meer begging the queſtion*; meer w without weight or conſequence; or what'

worſe, will, when examined, be found to be falſe: for had not *Natural Religion* a ſubſiſtence before *Chriſtianity* was ever known to the world? and did not many by its ſole influence attain to ſuch an exalted degree of virtue, as few or none have ever ſince arrived at? and at this very day in *Mahometan and Idolatrous Nations*, where *Chriſtianity* has no influence, is it not neceſſary to imagine, that there are many, who by the meer *light of Reaſon* ſee through the cheat of the *popular Religion*, and by its help form to themſelves ſome other more rational rule of life and manners; and laſtly, in our own as well as other *Chriſtian* countries, however *inconceivable* it may be to you, yet all who know any thing of the world, will eaſily *conceive*, and actually find it a very common caſe, to meet with men who with little or no regard for *Revealed Religion*, yet expreſs both by words and actions a great reverence for *Natural*; of which number *your Author*, for any thing I know, or you have ſaid to the contrary, may poſſibly be one: for ſince in every part of his work he profeſſes a very *high notion* of the excellency of *Reaſon*, *Truth and Virtue*; profeſſes to believe *a God*, *a Providence*, *a future ſtate*; both reaſon and charity oblige us to look upon him as ſincere, till we are forced to think otherwiſe by ſome particular knowledge or information of his real life and character.

But no thanks, you tell us, are due, to perſons for commending *Virtue, which all the world admires, and envy itſelf muſt praiſe, and which even its enemies are forced to pay a reverence and veneration to.* Now is not this a little inconſiſtent, to charge men with a deſign to overthrow what themſelves, and all the world beſides, muſt neceſſarily admire and pay a veneration to? and though their reverence, as you ſay, is but an *aukward one*, and what they are forced to againſt their wills; yet is it poſſible to entertain a thought of deſtroying what the *nature and neceſſity of things* force them to reverence? What you mean by an *aukward reverence*, I don't well underſtand; but am certain, that if *aukwardneſs* be a mark of inſincerity, then *Orthodoxy* muſt needs be undone, ſince I know none who pay *their reverence ſo aukwardly* as ſome of its principal champions.

You next explain the purpoſe of your own work; deſigned, you ſay, *to reſcue the word of God from miſrepreſentation and cenſure, from the reproaches and blaſphemies of fooliſh men:* and 'tis matter of *melancholy conſideration to* You, *that there ſhould be found men ſo abandoned and profligate, as to ſhut their eyes againſt light; affront God to his face; take a pride in throwing his back his favours.* But how melancholy ſoever this conſideration may be, we ought not ſti' it ſeems, to be *ſhocked or ſcandalized* at it, two reaſons. Firſt, becauſe it was prophe

that there ſhould come ſcoffers in the laſt days; yet all the inſtances you give are of ſuch as came in the *firſt days*. Secondly, becauſe *it is certainly known with what views, and upon what motives they do it*, being all *an abandoned and profligate ſet of men*; *taking a pride in affronting God to his face*; *whoſe affections are corrupt, whoſe deeds evil*; *the ſecret of whoſe counſels is to ſteel mens hearts againſt a judgment to come, and lead them blindfold into Hell*; *whoſe real and onely aim is to reduce the laws of God to the luſts and paſſions of men*; *to ſhake off all religious reſtraints, that they may be at liberty to follow their pleaſures*, &c.

But this, good Doctor, to ſpeak freely, is not *reaſoning* but *railing*; or, to uſe your own words [*a*], *ſhews more of a diſpoſition to revile, than to argue and debate*; and till 'tis ſupported by facts and proofs ſufficient to convince men of ſenſe, will always paſs with ſuch for *the crude and ſenſeleſs cant of Bigots*, the common-place ſtuff of declamatory Preachers: for every man, who has practiſed the world, and uſed the converſation of men of letters, muſt needs have met with many perſons of much ſeeming honor, virtue, and ſobriety of life, who partly *profeſs to have ſcruples*, partly an *entire diſbelief of all Revelation*: and what way, think you, is the moſt likely to convince men of this character? Is it poſſible to work any good upon them by the

[*a*] P. 67.

method you here take; by telling them that they are *profligate and abandoned, contemners of God, and enemies to Man?* Is not ſuch treatment ſure to have a contrary effect? and being conſcious to themſelves, that your charge upon them is both *falſe and malicious*, inſtead of conſidering *your book*, as *a charitable attempt* to recover a ſoul from ruin, they will reject it with ſcorn, as an *infamous and ſcandalous libel.*

After this general charge on all who *cavil at Scripture*, you deſcend to fix it more particularly on the *Author* you have to do with: this you do, firſt, by citing *two paſſages* from *ſome private letters*, as you call them; ſignifying that the intention of the writer of them was *to ſave a ſoul from the diſmal apprehenſions of eternal damnation*; or *from the uneaſineſs of mind which he is often under when pleaſure and Chriſtianity come in competition.* What *Letters* theſe are I know not, but preſume, that you have reaſon to know the *Author of them* to be the *Author* likewiſe *of the book* you are confuting; or elſe with what ſenſe or juſtice can you impute to *one man* what *another* has ſaid or written? but you add immediately, *this is the noble and generous aim which the Writer I am concerned with boaſts of in his Preface.* This indeed is charging him home with the *ſame ſentiments*; if he not onely avows them, but *boaſts of them:* for who could collect or imagine any thing leſs from your words? but I was much ſurprized, when conſulting his

Preface

Preface on the occaſion, I could not find a ſyllable of the *letters or paſſages* juſt mentioned, nor any ſentiments at all like them, but the mention onely of a *noble and generous deſign*, in having, as he imagined, contrived rules to diſtinguiſh between *Religion and Superſtition*. Such a diſingenuous way of forming an indictment muſt needs appear odious not onely to the *enemies*, but much more to the *friends* of a Religion, which prohibits ſo ſeverely all *raſh cenſure*; preſcribes the *utmoſt candour and charity* towards all men, and will not bear a *railing accuſation* even againſt the *Devil* himſelf.

From charging him with *other peoples* ſentiments, you come at laſt to convict him by *his own*: telling us, that *he gives broad hints in one place, that he looks upon incontinence in ſingle perſons as one of the rights allowed by the Law of Nature.* If by *incontinence* he means, what you ſeem to ſuppoſe, the *cohabiting of ſingle perſons of each ſex for the propagation of the ſpecies, without the intervention of a Prieſt, or any other formality but mutual conſent*; had his *hints* been ſtill *broader*, they are but agreeable to the principles he maintains; nor will he find much difficulty in defending them by the *Laws of Reaſon and Nature*; and I wonder how from ſuch *hints* you can ground any imputation of *immorality* upon one, who is reaſoning from thoſe principles, from which your ſelf muſt be forced to allow ſtill a greater licence; not onely

onely *a plurality of wives*, but a *number of concubines* into the bargain; unleſs you will give up ſome part at leaſt of the Scripture you are vindicating, and condemn the *holy Patriarchs*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac and Jacob*; and above all, *David*, *the man after God's own heart*; who had at leaſt *ſeven wives*, and *ten concubines*, without ever being admoniſhed for it by any of the *Prophets*, or cenſured by any of the *ſacred Writers*. So that here he will probably turn your own reaſoning upon you; that it is *a weak thing of you*, *to charge the Law of Nature as not ſtrict enough*, *when your own Scripture appears to be looſer* [*a*].

Again; you charge him with *declaring flatly and plainly againſt our Lord's doctrine of loving thoſe that hate us*: Yet in the place you refer to, I find him arguing onely, that thoſe words are not to be taken in their *ſtrict and literal* ſenſe, but like *many other texts* of the ſame nature, which he there enumerates, viz. *he that takes away thy coat*, *let him have thy cloak alſo*: *of him who takes thy goods*, *aſk them not again*: *whoever ſhall ſmite thee on the right cheek*, *turn to him the other alſo*, &c. muſt be interpreted agreeably to the *reaſon and nature of things*, and the *common good of ſociety*; and that to practiſe them in their *obvious and grammatical* ſenſe would occaſion much miſchief to the public much injuſtice to particular men: In all which

[*a*] P. 90.

as he ſays nothing more than what *all Commentators* and *all rational Chriſtians* allow, I cannot think it reaſonable, from this inſtance, to charge him with ſeeking to *relax the Laws of Chriſt, to make them ſuit the better with corrupt Nature.*

But had he furniſhed no direct proofs of the *malice* you impute to him, yet your penetration, it ſeems, is ſuch, as can ſee to the *very bottom* of him; for though he *ſtudiouſly*, as you ſay, *diſguiſes himſelf, and takes great pains to put fair gloſſes on what he is doing, yet ſometimes he diſcovers the very ſecrets of his heart:* and though in the ſame page you allow, that *he himſelf beſt knows how far he is influenced by luſt and malice*; yet in the very next words you recollect yourſelf, and ſignify, that you know as well as himſelf, and that *'tis eaſy to perceive how much the black paſſions have got the aſcendant over him.*

The concluſion of *your Introduction* is of a piece with the reſt: for after declaiming againſt his wickedneſs, you conclude by contemning his learning and abilities. *His attacks*, you ſay, *are feeble, his artillery contemptible: he has no genius or taſte for literature; no acquaintance with the original languages; nor ſo much as with common Criticks and Commentators: ſeveral of his objections are pure* Engliſh *objections; ſuch as affect onely our tranſlation: the reſt are of the loweſt and moſt trifling ſort*, &c. And in the body

body of your book you go ſtill farther, and treat him with the plain terms of *Fool and Idiot*; as having neither *wit, judgment, learning, or any thing but dull malice* [*a*].

If this be really the caſe, what is *all this buſtle* about? Why all this *apparatus* to foil ſo *feeble, ſo contemptible an adverſary?* Why muſt you be called off from the great work of defending *Creeds and Poſitive Precepts*, to contend with ſuch a *trifler?* Why muſt *two eminent ſcholars* be picked out from *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to divide the taſk between them, and repel with united force the *deſpicable attacks of a pure* Engliſh *blunderer?* All *this apparatus*, I ſay, muſt needs perſuade us, that you have a different notion of *his ability*, from what you think proper to declare: and, in fact, as all who talk extravagantly or inſincerely are apt to betray themſelves, ſo you in many places confute your ſelf, and ſhew that theſe *pure Engliſh objections*, which owe their riſe, as you would inſinuate, to the *blunders of our Tranſlation*, deſerve to be conſidered in another light; ſince at ſome times you exclaim againſt them as being *ſtale*, or *borrowed from Antiquity*; from the ancient enemies of Religion, *Celſus* and *Julian*; at other times, from our learned moderns, *Marſham* and *Burnet*, &c. [*b*] and do not ſo much as in one ſingle inſtance prove them to be grounded on the *miſtaken ſenſe* of the original.

[*a*] P. 31, 95. [*b*] P. 27, 28, 55.

For

For my own part, to obſerve our *Engliſh proverb*, and *give even the Devil his due*, I cannot for my life diſcover any ſuch want *of literature* as you object to him; but on the contrary, ſee plainly that his work has been the effect of *much ſtudy and reading*; his materials collected from a great variety of the *beſt Writers*; his pages decently *crowded with citations*; and his *Index of Authors as numerous*, as that of moſt books which have lately appeared: and to tell you the truth, were it my taſk to anſwer him in the method you have choſen, by undertaking *to vindicate every ſingle text of Scripture from all the exceptions that may be made to it*, I ſhould be tempted to wiſh that he had ſtill *leſs learning*, rather than *more*; ſince with the ſmall ſhare he has, one may eaſily foreſee by the ſpecimen you give us, that he will in many caſes be at leaſt a full match for you.

Thus much, Sir, for *your Introduction*; which, if it appears to others in the ſame light, as it did to me, will afford them but little hopes of pleaſure or edification in what is to follow; but like foul weather at ſetting out, give a diſcouraging proſpect of the dirt they are to travel through in the reſt of their journey.

Let's now proceed to examine the work itſelf; wherein you undertake to *vindicate the moſt exceptionable texts of Scripture from cavil and cenſure:*

cenſure: This, Sir, is a hardy undertaking, and what few men of modeſty or prudence would venture upon; ſince however it may be diſcharged, 'tis likely, as I've ſaid above, from the nature of the ſubject itſelf, to do *hurt*, rather than *ſervice*, to the cauſe of *Religion*; as 'tis raking into *old ſores*; giving new life to *old cavils*; ſolving objections which you call *ſtale and trivial*, by anſwers as *ſtale and as trivial* too; for had theſe ever been ſatisfactory, the others could hardly have ſubſiſted to this day. To confirm this, I ſhall not follow you through all the *texts you vindicate*, but content my ſelf with a *few remarks* on *two or three* of the greateſt importance; in the explication of which you ſeem to have taken the greateſt pains. To begin then with your vindication of the *ſcriptural hiſtory of man's fall*.

The *Author* you are confuting ſays, it ſeems, *that Chriſtians are now aſhamed of the literal interpretation of this ſtory* [*a*]: which though you ſeem diſpoſed to treat as a *Calumny*, yet 'tis certain and undeniable, that *all Commentators* whatſoever are forced in ſome meaſure *to deſert the letter*, in order to make the ſtory *rational and credible*. You tell us, with many of them, that the *Deceiver was a real Serpent, actuated by the Devil* [*b*]; this you declare ſufficient to *obviate all difficulties*, to ſolve *all objections*: yet *Moſes*, you own, ſays not *one word of the Devil*; nor

[*a*] P. 14. [*b*] P. 15.

had

had occaſion to ſay any thing of him; nay, *that it was better he ſhou'd ſay nothing of him, becauſe he had ſaid nothing of him* [*a*]: but whether it were better or worſe, it is certain however, that the *introducing a Devil is contrary to the letter*; which ſpeaks onely of a *proper and meer Serpent*, as the author of this deception; and ſuggeſts the reaſon both of the attempt and the ſucceſs of it, in the *natural cunning* of that beaſt. *For the Serpent was more ſubtil than any beaſt of the field*; and by *his ſubtilty*, ſays St. *Paul* [*b*], *he deceived Eve*; who in making her defence to God, does not plead that the *Devil*, which had been a much better excuſe, but that the *Serpent deceived her*. You tell us, on another occaſion, that *God accommodates his Phraſes to the language of men, in order to be better underſtood by men* [*c*]: Pray tell us then, Good Sir, how he has *accommodated his Phraſes* here; whether that he may be *better underſtood of the Serpent, or of the Devil?*

Now *becauſe the Serpent was more remarkably ſubtil, he was, you ſay* [*d*], *the propereſt inſtrument of the Tempter to deceive by; the beſt cover to conceal his fraud.* But here again moſt people will be of a different mind: for 'tis natural to be jealous and on our guard againſt the counſels, to diſtruſt all offers of kindneſs of the *ſubtle and malicious*: ſo that an *Aſs* or a *Dove*

[*a*] P. 13. [*b*] 2 Cor. xi. 3. [*c*] P. 30. [*d*] P. 15.

muſt

muſt needs have been a fitter engine for *Satan*, under the diſguiſe of folly or innocence, to have inſinuated his poiſon by. And though you tell us here, that *the apprehenſion Eve had of his ſubtilty might make her leſs ſurpriſed to hear him reaſon and diſcourſe*; yet in the very next page you declare it *natural to ſuppoſe, that for want of longer experience ſhe might not know whether any brute creatures were capable either of reaſon or ſpeech*. Can ſuch ſhuffling and inconſiſtency, think you, have any good effect towards *reſcuing the word of God from reproach and cenſure?*

'Tis the opinion, you ſay [*a*], *of ſome very worthy and learned perſons, that the Serpent was ſo like a Seraph, that Eve miſtook it for a good Angel*. The opinion indeed is very extravagant, that *Serpents* were originally in ſhape and beauty ſo like to *bleſſed Angels*, that it was eaſy to miſtake the one for the other. But as extravagant as it is, 'twas embraced by Biſhop *Patrick*, *Teniſon*, and many other learned men, to avoid what they thought the more extravagant of the two, the very opinion you maintain; which though you declare to have no kind of *difficulty or improbability* in it, yet Biſhop *Patrick* treats as ridiculous and *incredible* [*b*]: and what reaſonable

[*a*] P. 16.

[*b*] She was not ſo ſimple as to think that Beaſts could ſpeak—nor doth it ſeem at all credible to me, that ſhe could have been otherwiſe deceived, but by ſome creature

ſonable hopes can you have of *converting Infidels and ſilencing Scepticks*, by the force of a ſolution which our *beſt Commentators* and *orthodox Biſhops* reject as *ſimple* and *fooliſh*?

But 'tis not *the extravagance* of this notion, but the eaſineſs of it, that offends you: it ſpoils the whole ſtory, by making it, as you ſay, *too eaſy*: this indeed is the true ſpirit of a *right orthodox Divine*; nothing *eaſy* will go down with him; nothing but the *marvellous* and the *improbable* will pleaſe him; and the good old principle *credo quia impoſſibile*, is with him the onely touchſtone of a true *ſaving Faith*.

But is the *Devil* then ſuch a *Hero*, that he ſcorns an *eaſy* conqueſt; nor cares to engage but where there's difficulty in the conflict? or is it inconſiſtent with the *goodneſs of God* to allow him a triumph ſo *eaſy*? 'Tis certain, that on ſome occaſions he *transforms himſelf into an angel of light* [*a*]: and where could he ever have more occaſion to do it than in the caſe we are conſidering? For if under that ſhape his victory was *too eaſy* before the *fall*, how much *eaſier* muſt it needs be now, in this *degenerate ſtate* of man? If the *eaſineſs* of it ſeemed then to reflect on the *goodneſs of God* for permitting it, how much more muſt it do ſo now, in ſuf-

ture which appeared ſo glorioufly, that ſhe took it for an heavenly Miniſter. *Comment. on Gen.* iii. 1.

[*a*] 1 Cor. xi. 14.

fering him with all that advantage to attack man when he *is down*, to trample on him when he is *fallen?*

But to proceed; though the *introduction of a Devil* may ſerve to clear up the difficulty of the *Serpent's ſpeaking and reaſoning*, yet it raiſes up a new one of a higher nature, which *your Author* charges upon it, againſt the *juſtice of God himſelf, in not interpoſing in ſo unequal a conflict.* This objection, how merry ſoever you may make with it, by laughing at *your Author's want of Spectacles* [*a*], is certainly of weight enough to puzzle and ſtagger our reaſon: and every man has a right to require from thoſe, who pretend to be *guides and teachers of Religion*, how ſuch paſſages delivered and inculcated by them, as the *undoubted word of God*, can be reconciled to the known *attributes and perfections of the Deity.*

Should a *Father* diſcard and diſinherit *a Child*, for having deſerted ſome poſt aſſigned him; ſeduced either by the craft of ſome *old Sophiſter*, or driven off by the ſuperior ſtrength of ſome able bodied man, the Father all the while looking on, nor interpoſing at all in a trial ſo unreaſonable; wou'd not the fact be thought *barbarous* and *unnatural?* Now the conflict in ſuch caſe could not be more unequal than between our firſt *Parents and Satan*; and

[*a*] P. 18.

the love of *God to his Creatures* muſt neceſſarily be allowed ſuperior to that of *natural Fathers* to their *Children*. Yet you, Sir, ſee no *kind of difficulty*, and treat *the demand of a reaſon* on the occaſion as a *vain curioſity*, and *impertinent cavilling* [*a*]: ſince every body, you ſay, muſt needs ſee *how kind and indulgent God was in this whole proceeding* [*b*]: whereas, to ſpeak for my ſelf, I cannot from the *literal acceptation* of the ſtory, with all your *comment* upon it, ſee the leaſt ſymptom of *any kindneſs* or *indulgence* at all; but on the contrary, a neceſſity of flying to *allegory*, to account for the ſeeming injuſtice and unreaſonable ſeverity of the *Divine conduct*.

But ſince in a queſtion of this nature, both *your reaſon* and *mine* may poſſibly be ſuſpected, as if *prejudiced by education*, *influenced by cuſtom*, or *biaſſed* perhaps by *ſome intereſt* in favour of *eſtabliſhed opinions*; I ſhall appeal to an authority, which cannot be charged either with prejudice or partiality, with favouring or detracting from the credit of *Moſes*; one of the *greateſt Maſters of Reaſon* that *Antiquity* ever produced, I mean *Cicero*; whoſe ſentiments declared in ſome caſes, nearly allied to the preſent, may ſerve to inform us what *unprejudiced Reaſon* would determine upon the *literal hiſtory of man's fall*.

[*a*] P. 20. [*b*] P. 19.

Cicero tells us [*a*], *that the very Gods of the Poets, had they known how pernicious their gifts would prove to their Children, muſt be thought to have been wanting in point of kindneſs towards them.* What then wou'd he have thought of *God's foreſeeing the immediate fall of man,* yet *creating him to a ſtate of ſin and miſery?*

He ſays in another place, *that 'tis unworthy of God to do any thing in vain, for that wou'd be a reflection even upon man's conſtancy* [*b*]. What then cou'd he have judged of the *formation of a Paradiſe,* and all that *apparatus and proviſion for the bliſs and immortality of the firſt Pair*; which was no ſooner made than forfeited, and like a *Theatrical Scene* changed in an inſtant, to a proſpect of miſery and barrenneſs?

Again, it is, ſays he [*c*], *the common opinion of all Philoſophers, of what ſect ſoever, that the Deity can neither be angry, nor hurt any body.* How would he have been ſurprized then, to

[*a*] Atque is tamen ipſi Dii Poetici, ſi ſciſſent pernicioſa fore illa filiis, peccaſſe in beneficio putarentur. Nat. Deor. l. 3. 31. Edit. Davis.

[*b*] Nec enim ignorare Deus poteſt qua mente quiſque ſit: nec fruſtrà ac ſine cauſa quid facere dignum Deo eſt, quod abhorret etiam ab hominis conſtantia. De Divin. l. 2. 60.

[*c*] At hoc commune eſt omnium Philoſophorum—nunquam nec iraſci Deum nec nocere. De off. 3. 27.

find

find *God* repreſented here as *fierce* and *enraged*, driving out his own creatures *in anger*, from the bliſs he had provided for them, and in a *kind of fury curſing the very earth* for their ſakes ?

He claims on another occaſion, *Oh the wonderful equity of the Gods ! wou'd any people endure the maker of ſuch a law, that the Son or Grandſon ſhould be puniſhed, becauſe the Father or Grandfather had offended* [*a*] ?

How wou'd he have exclaimed then at *God*'s puniſhing ſo ſeverely not onely the *firſt Pair*, but *their whole poſterity*, the *whole race of mankind* for their ſin ; and even the *Serpent* too, for the fraud of the *Devil* ?

Laſtly, upon mention of a *dream of Alexander the Great, that a Serpent appeared to him, and told him where he might find a certain root to cure his friend Ptolemy of a wound which was judged mortal :* laughing at the ſtory, *the Serpent*, ſays he, *ſeemed to talk to Alexander : this, whether true or falſe, has nothing in it ; ſince he did not really hear him ſpeak, but ſeemed onely to do ſo* [*b*].

[*a*] O miram æquitatem Deorum ! ferret ne ulla Civitas latorem iſtiuſmodi legis, ut condemnaretur filius, aut nepos, ſi pater aut avus deliquiſſet ? De Nat. Deor. 3. 38.

[*b*] Alexandro loqui draco viſus eſt. Poteſt hoc eſſe falſum, poteſt verum : ſed utrum ſit, non eſt mirabile ; non enim audivit ille draconem loquentem, ſed viſus eſt audire. De Divin. l. 2. 68.

But how wou'd he have laugh'd at *your literal ſtory*, of a *Serpent actually ſpeaking and reaſoning*, without moving the leaſt wonder and ſurprize in the hearer? Theſe paſſages may ſerve, I ſay, to ſhew what unprejudiced reaſon wou'd have thought of the *vulgar hiſtory of man's fall:* and though you, Sir, can ſwallow and digeſt the whole, without the leaſt difficulty or reluctance; yet what *offence*, what *contradiction to reaſon*, is to be found in every *ſingle article* of the account?

'Tis neceſſary then, for the *ſatisfaction of our reaſon*, and the *quieting our ſcruples*, to deſert the *outward letter*, and ſearch for the *hidden, allegorical* ſenſe of the ſtory: where I ſhall not take the trouble of collecting all the fancies and whimſical ſolutions of the *Rabbins and the Fathers*; but content myſelf with propoſing one, which appears to me the moſt probable and rational of them all; *viz.* that by *Adam* we are to underſtand *reaſon* or *the mind of man*; by *Eve*, the *fleſh* or *outward ſenſes*; by the *Serpent*, *luſt* or *pleaſure:* In which *Allegory* we ſee clearly explained the true cauſes of *man's fall* and *degeneracy:* that as ſoon as *his mind*, through the weakneſs and treachery of *his ſenſes*, became captivated and ſeduced by the allurements of *luſt and pleaſure*, he was driven *by God out of Paradiſe*; that is, loſt and forfeited the happineſs and proſperity which he had enjoyed in his innocence. All this is intelligible and rational; agreeable

agreeable not only to the common notions and tradition of hiſtory, but to the conſtant and eſtabliſhed method of *God's Providence*, who has wiſely conſtituted *miſery, ſorrow, and the debaſement of our nature*, to be the *natural and neceſſary effect* of *vice* and *ſin*.

This interpretation is embraced by ſeveral of the *Antients*; particularly St. *Auſtin*; who tells us, *that the ſame thing is acted over again in every one of us, as oft as we fall into ſin, that was repreſented by the Serpent, the Woman and the Man: for there's firſt*, ſays he, *a ſuggeſtion or inſinuation; either by a thought or the ſenſes of the body; by which if our inclination is not prevailed with to ſin, then is the ſubtilty of the Serpent baffled and vaniſhed; but if 'tis prevailed with, then we yield, as it were, to the perſuaſions of the Woman: and when our reaſon has thus conſented to execute what our luſt had moved, then is Man effectually driven out and expelled from all poſſeſſion of happineſs, as from a Paradiſe* [*a*]. Now whatever opinion *this Father* might on other occaſions declare, (as he was not always very conſiſtent with himſelf) yet at the time of writing the book, whence this paſſage is taken, he was perſuaded, that in the *hiſtory of the creation and fall of man*, we could not avoid *abſurdities and blaſphemy towards God*, without giving up

[*a*] De Geneſ. contra Manich. l. 2. c. 12.

the *literal meaning*, and truſting wholly to *an allegorical* expoſition of it [*a*].

I have met with a *myſtical Fable* among the Antients, not very unlike the caſe before us: *that Man having obtained of Jove a remedy, to preſerve him in perpetual health and vigour, and prevent all the evils and infirmities of age, laid it on an Aſs to carry for him; but the Aſs being very dry and wanting to drink, was cheated of it by a Serpent, guardian of the ſpring; who perſuaded him to exchange his load for a draught of water: and ſo the Serpent has ever ſince enjoyed the benefit of it, renewing its youth and vigour every year, whilſt man is left to languiſh by diſeaſes and decay* [*b*].

Moſes, we read, *was learned in all the wiſdom of the Ægyptians* [*c*]; and their learning, eſpecially in things *ſacred and divine*, was wholly *myſtical and ſymbolical*; propoſed always under the figures of *men, beaſts and birds*, which were called *Hieroglyphicks*, or ſacred characters; in-

[*a*] Si autem nullus exitus datur, ut piè & dignè Deo quæ ſcripta ſunt intelligantur, niſi figuratè atque in ænigmatis propoſita iſta credamus, habentes Auctoritatem Apoſtolicam, modum quem intendimus teneamus — ut omnes iſtas figuras rerum ſecundum Catholicam Fidem — explicemus, &c. Ibid. c. 3.

[*b*] Nicandri Theriac. Edit. Ald. p. 17. §. 7. & Scholia ibid.

[*c*] Acts vii. 22.

vented

vented and uſed by them, as *Kircher* [*a*] has ſhewn, before *Moſes*'s time: amongſt theſe, the *Serpent*, as all Authors inform us, was of more common uſe with them, than any other animal; whoſe nature they imagined to have ſomething *very excellent and divine* in it [*b*]. So that it ſupplied the place of *two letters of their ſymbolical Alphabet*; and ſerved them as an *Hieroglyphick* of various ſignification; more particularly as an *emblem of ſubtlety and cunning*, as well as of *luſt* and *ſenſual pleaſure* [*c*]. Whence it cannot ſeem improbable, that *Moſes's account of the fall* might be drawn from principles and notions imbibed in his youth in the *Schools of the Ægyptians*.

Dr. *Spencer*, explaining this cuſtom of the *Ægyptians*, of delivering all *the ſublimer parts* of knowledge under the cover of *Symbols, Types and Emblems*, obſerves, that *when God called out* Moſes *to his Prophetick Office, he conſidered him*

[*a*] Vid. Kircher. Obeliſc. Pamphil. l. 2. de inſtitutione & fabrica Hieroglyphicor. c. 2. p. 102, &c.

Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii ſenſus mentis effingebant. Tacit. Annal. l. 11. c. 14.

[*b*] Nihil inter Hieroglyphica Symbola Serpente frequentius—cum enim viderent Serpentem animal igneo Spiritu plenum, vivax, &c. fieri non poſſe crediderunt, quin aliquid magnum, excellens & prorſus divinum ſub iis lateret. Ibid. l. 4. Ideæ Hieroglyph. p. 347.

[*c*] Ib. l. 2. c. 6. p. 131. It. Pierii Valerian. Hieroglyph. l. 14.

as one who had been trained up in that kind of learning; and that 'tis conſonant therefore to the character and hiſtory of Moſes, *to imagine that God deſigned, that he ſhould write and treat of all the ſublime things committed to him, in that myſtical and hieroglyphical way of literature in which he had been educated* [*a*].

The mention of *Ægyptian learning* leads me naturally to conſider, in the next place, your anſwer to this *Author*'s cavil againſt the *divine inſtitution of Circumciſion*; which he would inſinuate to have been borrowed onely from *Ægypt*. This objection you make *ſlight of*, and tell us, that there is *no ground for it* [*b*]; and tho' *your adverſary*, from the nature of his objection, muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe the *ſcriptural account of Circumciſion to be a fiction*; yet you very gravely ſpend two or three pages to prove that his notion cannot be true, becauſe 'tis inconſiſtent with that *ſame Scripture:* from which you conclude at laſt, that the *Ægyptians had not any circumciſion at all.* A likely method indeed to confute him, by excluding all teſtimony in the caſe, but what he excepts to, as *forged* for the very purpoſe. For you tell him [*c*],

[*a*] Cum Deus ad Munus propheticum Moſem evocavit, eum tanquam virum Hieroglyphicis Ægypti literis enutritum tractavit, &c. *De Legib. Hebræor. T.* 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 15. *p.* 211.

[*b*] P. 60.

[*c*] P. 56.

that

that *neither* Diodorus Siculus, *nor* Herodotus, *nor even* Sanchoniatho, *can be of weight ſufficient to determine this queſtion; tho' ſome conjectures may be raiſed from the laſt of the three*——— Which way the conjectures you hint at would lead us, I ſhall not at preſent examine; but am ſure, that of *the three* you name, *Sanchoniatho*, on whom you lay the greateſt ſtreſs, is on all accounts the *leaſt qualified* or *worthy* to ſuggeſt *any opinion*, or ground *any conjecture* at all upon: and as I have a reſpect for the *other two*, whom I have read with ſome diligence, I cannot ſuffer *their Authority* to be thrown off *ſo ſlightly*, without ſpending a word or two upon it.

Herodotus tells us then, that *all other mortals, except ſuch as had learnt the thing from* Ægypt, *preſerved their members as nature had formed them; but that the* Ægyptians *circumciſed themſelves for the ſake of cleanlineſs* [*a*]. And in another place, that *the* Phœnicians *and* Syrians *who inhabited* Paleſtine, (that is, the *Jews*) *confeſſed, that they had received the cuſtom of Circumciſion from the* Ægyptians [*b*].

Diodorus Siculus confirms the ſame thing; that this practice was *originally Ægyptian*, and

[*a*] Vid. Herod. l. 2. xxxvi, xxxvii. Edit. Lond.
[*b*] Ibid. civ.

that

that both the *Jews and People of* Colchus derived it anciently from them [*a*].

Strabo too declares, that *Circumciſion* was one of the moſt *famed and remarkable cuſtoms of* Ægypt; *but in uſe alſo with the Jews, who were originally* Ægyptians [*b*].

Now of all the Writers, who at all touch this queſtion, theſe are the onely ones I know of in antiquity, that can be called unprejudiced, and whoſe credibility cannot be liable to ſuſpicion either of malice or partiality in the caſe: and 'twas the authority of theſe that induced the *learned Marſham*, and the *no leſs learned Spencer* too, to favour the opinion of your adverſary; all which you ſtill contemn as inſufficient to ground even a *ſuſpicion*, or raiſe a *conjecture* upon.

Joſephus, who in his defence of *the Jews againſt* Apion, takes occaſion more than once to mention this *teſtimony of Herodotus*, inſtead of cenſuring or attempting to confute it, argues from it as from a thing granted: *The* Ægyptians, ſays he [*c*], *are all circumciſed, and abſtain from ſwine's fleſh——wherefore* Apion *is a fool to*

[*a*] L. 1. p. 24. Edit. Rhodomanni.

[*b*] L. 17. p. 824. Edit. Iſ. Caſaub.

[*c*] Ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν ἅπαντες καὶ περιτέμνονται καὶ χοιρείων ἀπέχονται βρωμάτων, &c. Contr. Ap. l. 2. c. 13. Edit. Hudſ.

abuſe

abuſe the Jews, *for the ſake of thoſe, who not onely uſe the very cuſtoms he finds fault with, but who taught other people alſo the uſe of Circumciſion, as* Herodotus *has informed us.* And in giving the character of *Moſes*, as of an *excellent Governour*, and *wiſe Legiſlator*; *never uſing the great power he was poſſeſſed of to any advantage of his own, but the ſole benefit of thoſe who had entruſted him with it*, &c. *Such an one*, ſays he [*a*], *whoſe intentions were ſo juſt and noble, might reaſonably preſume, that he had God for his Guide and Counſellor, and having once perſuaded himſelf of this, he judged it neceſſary above all things to inſtil the ſame notion into the people; that every thing he did was directed by the will of Heaven; not acting herein the part of a magician or impoſtor as ſome have unjuſtly aſperſed him, but like the famed Lawgivers of* Greece; *who, to make their good deſigns the more effectual, uſed to aſcribe the invention of their own laws to the Gods; and more eſpecially like* Minos, *who imputed all his Inſtitutions to* Apollo *and the* Delphic *Oracle.*

Such a declaration as this from *ſo learned a Jew*, in defending the excellency and pre-eminence of *his own Religion*, might teach us to entertain more moderate and qualified ſentiments concerning its *divine origin*, as well as the *divine inſpiration* of its *Founder*, *Moſes*;

[*a*] Ἀλλ' οἷον παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀυχοῦσιν τὸν Μίνω γεγονέναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλως νομοθέτας, &c. Ibid. c. 16.

which

which whilſt aſſerted in that *abſolute and unlimited* ſenſe, that divines of your zeal and principles contend for, will ever prove a ſtumbling block to men of underſtanding, and obſtruct the advancement of religion, by making its Authority queſtionable and ſuſpected.

But laying aſide Authorities, let's conſider a little on which ſide the probability lies: *Ægypt* was a great and powerful nation, famed every where abroad, and valuing themſelves highly at home for their *wiſdom* and *learning*; ſo that the *Philoſophers* and Learned of all countries uſed to travel thither, as to the *beſt School of Arts and Sciences*: *Pythagoras*, we read, brought all his knowledge from thence, and complied ſo far, as to be *circumciſed* amongſt them, on purpoſe to procure a more *intimate admiſſion into their myſteries* [*a*].

The *Jews*, on the other hand, were an obſcure contemptible people, famed for no kind of literature; ſcarce known to the polite world, till the *Roman* Empire diſperſed them; and then the more deſpiſed onely for being known: they had been brought out of *Ægypt*, according to the *Scripture account*, in ſuch a manner, as could leave no impreſſion in their favor in the

[*a*] Ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐξήνεγκε τὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης. Suidas. δι' ὃὺς καὶ περιεῖμετο, &c. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 354. Edit. Potter.

memory

memory of the *Ægyptians*; or, as *profane Authors* ſay, had been *expelled* by them on account of ſome *filthy diſeaſe* [*a*]: Which then is the more probable; that a people valuing themſelves ſo much on their wiſdom, ſhould borrow ſo remarkable a cuſtom from a Nation they always hated and deſpiſed [*b*]; or that the *Lawgiver* of a *petty infant ſtate* ſhould copy that, as well as many other of his conſtitutions, from the practice of *a great and floriſhing Kingdom?*

Beſides, thoſe who affirm *Circumciſion* to be of *Hebrew original*, and thence propagated to other nations, have no one Author of Antiquity to ſupport their opinion, but ſuch as take up with it on the credit of a tradition derived from the *ſcriptural account* of its inſtitution: and as they are deſtitute of all Authority, ſo they cannot agree either on *the perſon* who firſt introduced it, or the *period of time* when it was ſo introduced into *Ægypt*. Some aſcribe it to

[*a*] Plurimi auctores conſentiunt, orta per Ægyptum lube, quæ corpora fœdaret, Regem Bocchorim, adito Hammonis Oraculo, remedium petentem, purgare regnum & id genus hominum ut inviſum Deis alias in terras avehere juſſum. Tacit. Hiſt. 5. 3.

Dicunt Ægyptii Moſem patriâ Heliopolitem eſſe, unum e Sacerdotibus, ob lepram cum aliis pulſum. Joſ. con. Apion, l. 1. 31. 26. Vid. it. Juſtin. l. 36. c. 2.

[*b*] Μάλιστα πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμενῶς διατεθέντες, κοινῇ μὲν ἅπαντες Αἰγύπτιοι. Joſeph. con. Ap. l. 1. 13.

Abraham;

Abraham; ſome to the credit and example of *Joſeph*; others to *Jacob* and *his ſons*, upon their ſettlement in *Ægypt*; others to the traffick and intercourſe between the *Jews* and *Ægyptians*, eſpecially in *Solomon*'s time, who had both a *ſtrict alliance* and *commerce* with them. Now tho' all theſe opinions are wholly groundleſs and irrational, yet none of them ſeems ſo improbable, as that which you embrace; that this cuſtom was carried into *Ægypt* by *Abraham's poſterity the Arabian Iſhmaelites* [*a*]: for how can it be imagined, that a ſet of *wild Arabs* or *wandring Shepherds*, an *occupation abominable to the Ægyptians* [*b*], of all men the moſt barbarous and illiterate, could have authority enough with a *polite and learned Nation* to eſtabliſh ſo *odious* and *painful a cuſtom* amongſt them?

Moſes, as is ſaid above, was trained in all the *learning of the Ægyptians*; which learning was employed more eſpecially in the *ſtudy of Theology*: they were held the *firſt inventers of religious Rites and Ceremonies, of Pomps and Proceſſions* [*c*]. And where was *this learning* of his more likely to exert itſelf; where could we ſo naturally expect to ſee its influence, as in forming the *civil and eccleſiaſtical polity* of his

[*a*] P. 60.
[*b*] Gen. xlvi. 34.
[*c*] Herodot. l. 2. lviii.

new

new commonwealth? But whatever effect it would naturally have, 'tis certain, that the ſtrong inclination of the people for all *Ægyptian cuſtoms*, their eagerneſs to relapſe on all occaſions into *Ægyptian Idolatry*, of which we have ſo many inſtances in their hiſtory, would neceſſarily oblige him to indulge them, even againſt his will, in the uſe of many rites they were ſo fond of: his back was no ſooner turned, than they prevailed with *Aaron* to make them a *Golden Calf*; which was nothing elſe but recalling the worſhip of the *Ægyptian God Apis*, repreſented always under that form [*a*]: and the ſetting up the *brazen Serpent* ſeems to have been done in condeſcenſion to the ſame humour; being an object they had been uſed to *reverence* in *Ægypt*; where, from the *Iſiac Table of Bembo*, the *Obeliſks*, and other *Ægyptian* monuments, it appears, that the *Image of a Serpent erected in that manner on a pillar*, had extraordinary honors and a ſuperſtitious veneration paid to it [*b*]. And in fact, we ſee many cuſtoms and conſtitutions in the *Jewiſh laws*, which are evidently derived from this ſource. The *Ægyptians* were governed *by laws and cuſtoms peculiar* to them-

[*a*] Videtur mihi idcirco Populus Iſrael in ſolitudine feciſſe ſibi caput vituli quod coleret; ut quod in Ægypto didicerant Ἄπιν & Μνεῦιν, qui ſub figura boum coluntur, eſſe Deos, hoc in ſua ſuperſtitione ſervarent. Hieron. Comment. in Oſee Proph. c. 4.

[*b*] Pier. Valerian. Hieroglyph. l. 14. it. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

ſelves, and different from thoſe of other nations [*a*]; were more addicted to *prodigies and miracles*, than any other people [*b*]; had *one High Prieſt*; as well as an hereditary Prieſthood deſcending from Father to Son [*c*]; ſuffered no *blemiſh or imperfection* in the beaſt they ſacrificed [*d*]; were ſuperſtitiouſly nice and ſcrupulous about *waſhing and cleanſing* themſelves; nor durſt appear at divine worſhip when defiled by the *touch of any thing unclean* [*e*]; would not ſuffer any *leprous perſon* to come *within the City* [*f*]; abhorred *ſwine's fleſh as impure and abominable* [*g*]. All which cuſtoms of theirs and many more, that we meet with in the *Jewiſh Law*, as they ſeem the plain effects of *Moſes's Ægyptian learning*, ſo they furniſh ſtill the more ground to ſuſpect that *Circumciſion* too might poſſibly have the *ſame origin*. *Spencer* on this very argument, declares, that *God, when he gave his Law, thought fit to tolerate and transfer into his own worſhip many cuſtoms and inſtitutions which the people had been trained up to in* Ægypt, *the better to accommodate himſelf to their humours and affections* [*h*].

[*a*] Herod. l. 2. xci.
[*b*] Ib. lxxxii.
[*c*] Herod. l. 2. xxxvii.
[*d*] Ib. xxxviii.
[*e*] Ib. xxxvii, xlvii, lxiv.
[*f*] Ib. cxxxviii.
[*g*] Ib. xlvii.
[*h*] Deum, cum legem daret, ritus & inſtituta non pauca toleraſſe & in cultum ſuum tranſtuliſſe, &c. de Legib. Heb. T. 1. l. 1. c. 13.

From

From conſidering the *origin of Circumciſion*, you examine the *Author's cavils* to the thing itſelf: who thinks it ſtrange, *that cutting off the Foreſkin (not to be performed without great pain and hazard) could have been eſteemed a religious duty acceptable to a good and gracious God, who makes nothing in vain, much leſs what requires cutting off, even with extreme danger and anguiſh* [*a*].

In anſwer to this; as to the *pain* of the operation, you repreſent it as *ſlight and inconſiderable*, and make no more of *cutting off the Foreſkin*, than the *Navelſtring* in Infants ſo young [*b*]. And as to the *Hazard* of it, you contemn the very thought, and jeeringly call upon him for *a liſt of ſuch, as had ever died of it.* And here I cannot but expect, that he will return your own compliment upon you: what; *no genius for Literature! no acquaintance with common Criticks and Commentators!* for the commoneſt of them all would have informed you, that the *pain of Circumciſion* was not onely very *acute and grievous*, but the *Hazard* of it too ſo great, that it often proved *mortal*. *Spencer*, in the words of *Maimonides*, tells us, That *it was not like a ſlight hurt of the leg, or burning of the arm, but a moſt harſh and dangerous thing, not to be un-*

[*a*] P. 63.
[*b*] P. 64.

dergone without ſome hazard of life [*a*]. And *Lightfoot* informs us, that the *frequent mortality* it occaſioned, produced a *ſtanding law*; that when any perſon had *loſt three Children ſucceſſively by the operation, he was to be excuſed from circumciſing the reſt; in conſequence of which there were actually many uncircumciſed among them, who in thoſe circumſtances, were eſteemed ſtill to be in all points as good Iſraelites, and even as perfect Prieſts as any of the reſt.* This perhaps will ſtartle you, who have talked ſo raſhly on a ſubject you were not acquainted with; and you'll be the more ſurprized to find a *Poſitive Precept* ſuſpended by human Authority for civil and temporal ends; yet you will ſcarce except to my Author, who was both learned and orthodox, and to him I ſhall refer you for the *liſt* you *inſultingly* call for of thoſe who had *died by the operation* [*b*].

[*a*] Nam non eſt levis aliqua cruris læſio vel brachii aduſtio, ſed res duriſſima & difficillima, nec ſine vitæ diſcrimine quandoque ſubeunda. De Leg. Heb. l. 1. c. 14.

[*b*] You will wonder, reader, to hear that ſome Jews were always uncircumciſed; yea, that ſome prieſts not circumciſed miniſtred at the altar; and that without the complaint of any, and indeed without any fault—Very frequent mention is made in the Talmudiſts of an uncircumciſed Iſraelite, and an uncircumciſed prieſt—If the firſt, ſecond, third ſon ſhould die by Circumciſion, thoſe that were born after were not circumciſed; and yet Iſraelites in all reſpects; Prieſts in all reſpects. Lightf. Vol. II. p. 760.

As

As to the other part of the *Cavil*, that *God does nothing in vain*; you anſwer; that the *Foreſkin was not made in vain*; that in *ordinary caſes it was better to have it on, than off; but for extraordinary*, it was wiſely contrived, that there might be *ſomething to ſpare, ſomething to cut off as occaſion ſhould require* [*a*]: A moſt *admirable Solution*; which amounts juſt to this; that had not *God wiſely provided it*, he could never have ordered it to be *cut off*.

But ſince *your Author* is ſo impertinent in demanding reaſons for every thing, I wonder you would not oblige him with ſome of thoſe, which your *favourites the Criticks* have collected on this very occaſion; which ſince you have omitted, I ſhall take the liberty to ſupply, by preſenting him with one or two furniſhed by the *ſame Lightfoot*. *The land of Canaan*, ſays he, *was bequeathed to Sem by his Father Noah; becauſe Cham and his Son Canaan had derided Noah's nakedneſs: when therefore the land was to be ſettled on the right heirs of Sem; a Seal and an Aſſurance thereof is given in that member, which had been derided by Canaan to the loſs of that land. This was a main reaſon why males alone were circumciſed, and why in that member* [*b*].

[*a*] P. 65.
[*b*] Lightfoot, Vol. I. p. 464.

He gives the reaſon alſo why it was to be performed always on the eighth day. That *as there were ſeven Nations in the land, which the Iſraelites were to ſubdue, ſo every child of Abraham for ſeven days was like the children of thoſe ſeven Nations; but on the eighth was to receive Circumciſion, the pledge of his claim to that land* [a].

'Tis a thouſand pities that this *Adverſary of yours* has *no reliſh*, as you ſay, *for this kind of Literature*; no reverence for *Criticks or Commentators*; for could he be brought once to *this taſte*, we ſhould ſoon ſee an end of all his *Scruples*, nor be teized any longer with the *impertinence of Cavils*. Thus where the *over-nice Gentleman*, as you call him, is pleaſed to cavil at *God's being ſaid in Scripture ſo often to repent*; you tell him, that *there's not one Commentator of note, but would have ſet him right, had he been diſpoſed to learn, before he ſet up to teach* [b]. For theſe *Commentators* would have told him, I preſume, the very ſame thing that you do in the words immediately following, *viz.* that *God is unchangeable and repenteth not in a proper ſenſe; but when he undoes what he had before done, or changes his firſt meaſures, as circumſtances require, he is ſaid to repent*: that is as much as to ſay;

[a] Ib. 465.
[b] P. 29.

God

God is really and in his own nature unchangeable, unleſs when occaſion requires him to be *changeable*; nor ever *changes his mind*, but as oft as he *changes his meaſures*.

Strange force of *Prejudice!* that ſuch *a jingle of words* without the *leaſt mixture of ſenſe* can paſs with a man of learning, for a grave anſwer to an objection ſo important.

I ſhall next conſider briefly your account of the *Confuſion at Babel*: *a ſtory invented*, as your Adverſary would inſinuate, *by the Author of the Pentateuch* [*a*], *to account for the variety of languages obſervable in the world* which he knew not how to ſolve by *natural cauſes*. But here again you tell him in your *uſual ſtile*, that he has not *any reaſon or colour of reaſon*. As to the ſtory itſelf, every one muſt needs own it to be a *ſtrange one*: Some writers *allegorize* it, to a meaning quite different from the *letter*; others interpret it ſo as to exclude *all miracle* [*b*]: but whatever we are to collect from it, 'tis certain, that it has never made any great impreſſion on men of letters, however pious otherwiſe and religious; who in tracing the *origin and antiquity* of the ſeveral *languages*, ſeldom think it neceſſary to run back to *Babel*; but find the

[*a*] P. 41.

[*b*] See Calmet Diſſert. ſur la premiere langue. p. 3, &c.

cauſe to be grounded in *reaſon and nature*; in the *neceſſary mutability of human things*; the *riſe and fall of States* and *Empires*; *change of modes and cuſtoms*, which neceſſarily introduce a *proportionable change in language*.

'Tis from theſe principles, that men of learning have in fact demonſtrated the cauſes, and deduced the hiſtory of *moſt particular languages* from their ſource and origin; not onely of thoſe, which now obtain, but of ſuch alſo, as tho' once flouriſhing, are now no longer in common uſe and practice; as the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Italian*, *French*, &c.

Many both of the Antients and Moderns, have endeavoured to prove; that the *Hebrew* was the *firſt and common language* of all, till in proceſs of time, thro' the influence of the cauſes above hinted at, all other languages ſprang out of it, as naturally, as *many ſhoots* from the *ſame root*, *many branches* from the *ſame ſtock* [*a*].

As theſe obſervations are grounded on fact, and the teſtimony of hiſtory; and *all the variety of languages*, that have ever obtained in the world, may be accounted for by ordinary and

[*a*] Ut ſcire poſſimus linguam Hebraicam omnium linguarum eſſe matricem. Hieron. in Sophon. Proph. c. 3. v. 18.

natural

natural cauſes, which operate in the ſame manner at this day, and will always continue to do ſo as long as the world laſts; as this, I ſay, is certain, we cannot but allow that there's ſome *colour of reaſon* in your *Adverſary*'s ſuſpicion, that the *Author of the Pentateuch*, for want of reflecting on the natural cauſes of this *variety*, thought proper to have recourſe to *miracle* and *the intermediate interpoſition of God* in order to procure the greater reverence and dignity to his hiſtory. Eſpecially, ſince without any *ſuch miracle*, as all men of ſenſe will allow, the ſame effect muſt neceſſarily have followed from the *very diſperſion* and *propagation of mankind.*

But to examine your anſwer to this *Civil*, You ſay, that *Moſes in that place is not accounting ſo much for the variety of languages (which was a triſle in compariſon) as for the quick diſperſion of the Sons of Noah over the face of the earth —Thorns and Briars were ſpringing up every where, Woods and Thickets ſpreading themſelves around, wild Beaſts encreaſing; and all this while the Sons of Noah gathering together in a Cluſter and deſigning to continue ſo, inſtead of diſperſing to repleniſh and cultivate the earth. God would not bear their loitering, but interpoſed miraculouſly; and by confounding their language, confounded their ill-contrived project* [*a*]. What an abſurd and ridiculous account of things is this?

[*a*] P. 42.

The

The *Sons of Noah*, it ſeems, had formed a conſpiracy to fruſtrate the deſign of Providence in peopling the world; by *hanging together in cluſters*; reſolving neither to *diſperſe* nor *cultivate the ground*; and ſo muſt ſoon have been choaked up by *thorns and briars*, *woods and thickets*, or devoured by *wild beaſts*, which were multiplying apace upon them, had not God miraculouſly interpoſed to prevent it. 'Tis well however for the *Scripture you are vindicating*, that it furniſhes no ground for ſuch a *vindication*; but that all this nonſenſe is purely your own.

For from the Chapter you refer to [*a*], 'tis evident, that the *Sons of Noah* were ſo far from any ſuch reſolution of *not diſperſing themſelves*, that they had already begun to *diſperſe*; had actually *ſent off a Colony* from the *Eaſt to the Plains of Shinar*. *About an hundred years after the flood*, ſays *Calmet*, *when mankind found themſelves too numerous, to be able to continue any longer together, they reſolved to diſperſe themſelves and ſend out colonies into different countries* [*b*]. For this is not to be underſtood, ſays Biſhop *Patrick* [*c*], *of all the Poſterity of Noah*; *much leſs of Noah himſelf*; *but of a great colony of them*; *who when the Eaſt was much peopled, choſe to go*

[*a*] Geneſ. c. xi.

[*b*] Calmet Diſſert. ſur la premiere langue, p. 3.

[*c*] Comm. on Gen. xi. 2.

Weſt-

Weſtward. And again; *they continued*, ſays he, *in the mountainous Countries of the Eaſt, till they grew very numerous and wanted room; and then deſcended into the Plain, and ſome of them went weſtwardly.* And even thoſe, who had marched into this *Plain*, were ſo far ſtill from any thought of *hanging together in cluſters*, that they knew and clearly ſaw that it would ſoon be neceſſary for them to *diſperſe* ſtill further into other parts of the Earth, but had a mind, before *ſuch diſperſion*, to erect ſome *publick monument* of their common origin, by *building a City and a Tower that ſhould reach as high as Heaven*; and it was the preſumption and arrogance of this deſign, that induced *God* to baffle it by *confounding their language* [*a*], and to *diſperſe* from that place, without ſuffering them to finiſh what they had projected. This is all that can be collected from this ſtory, by any rational method of interpretation: and the ſtory itſelf ſeems introduced for no other purpoſe but to account for the *origin of the different languages* that obtain in the world: nor is there the leaſt ground for the notion of their *hanging together in cluſters*, and reſolving neither to *ſeparate themſelves*, nor *cultivate the ground*: a notion wholly extravagant and contradictory to ſenſe and reaſon: for were it poſſible for them to form ſuch a deſign, it could not be poſſible to exe-

[*a*] Quoniam de pœna venit multiplicatio, mutatione linguarum. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, l. 16. c. 12.

cute

cute it: a multitude daily growing cannot *hang together in cluſters*; muſt of neceſſity *diſperſe*, in proportion to the encreaſe of their numbers; *want of room* will force them to ſeek *new quarters*; *want of food* to *cultivate the earth*: and you may as well tell us of *waters gathering together on heaps*, as of *multitudes gathering in cluſters* to prevent their own diſperſion. I know no animals, that hang ſo much *in cluſters* as *Bees*, yet even theſe *diſperſe* themſelves every year, and ſend out *colonies*, as oft as the *old Hive* becomes too narrow for the entertainment of their *encreaſed family*: the ſame nature, that puſhes the infant forward from the *narrow womb* into the *wide world*, and from *childhood* ſtretches him out to *man*, will always oblige a growing people to ſpread and enlarge themſelves as ſoon as their *cluſtering together* becomes uneaſy and inconvenient.

I cannot imagine then whence you took this ſilly notion, unleſs from *the picture of Hobbes's Leviathan*; where we ſee juſt ſuch *a refractory multitude* as you deſcribe, all *cluſtered up together into one gigantick Figure*, as if reſolved and prepared in that collected form to combat heaven itſelf.

After all; you conclude this article with great ſeeming complacency and ſatisfaction in the clearneſs of your ſolution; wondering what *poſſible Offence* your adverſary can take at it,

and

and defying him to furniſh a *better, rationale* of it than you have given. But, pray Sir, what has he to do to give *any rationale at all* of a ſtory, which he does not believe? Or ſhould he frankly confeſs that he cannot find a *better*, yet I would not adviſe you to triumph too ſoon, leſt he ſhould reply, that 'tis for that very reaſon he rejects the whole ſtory, becauſe there's no *better ſolution* of it than yours to be had; and he cannot take up with a *rationale*, that has not *a ſcrap of reaſon or ſenſe* in it.

I ſhall not trouble myſelf with following you any further through your Anſwers to the *Objections of this Author:* I have already ſaid enough to ſhew the Truth of what is above hinted, that the taſk you have undertaken of *vindicating the particular text of Scripture* from *cavil and exception*; or *reſcuing*, as you ſay, *the Word of God from reproach and blaſphemy*, is much more likely to furniſh matter for *new Scandal*, than extinguiſh *the old:* for this, as far as my experience has reached, has always been, and will for ever be the conſequence of *this method of defending Religion:* ſince 'tis built upon a *wrong principle*, and proceeds upon a *ſyſtem*, that cannot be maintained, *viz.* that *every ſingle paſſage of the Scriptures, we call Canonical, muſt needs be received, as the very word and as the voice of God himſelf.* This notion, which you every where inculcate, as 'tis falſe in itſelf, ſo muſt neceſſarily lead you into error

and abſurdity, and expoſe you to the contempt and ridicule of all rational men, who can never embrace an *Hypotheſis*, however confidently aſſerted, which they ſee contrary to *fact* and the *plain conviction of their ſenſes.*

'Tis the Obſervation of a *late grave Author*, much verſed in reflections of this kind, that there's *no greater cauſe of modern infidelity, than that ſome opinions and rites are carried to ſuch an immoderate height, as expoſes the abſurdity of them to all men of common ſenſe; who out of indignation and an exceſſive renitence, not ſeparating that which is true, from that which is falſe, are apt to fall into the contrary extreme, a contempt of all Religion* [*a*].

And what better effect can we expect from your preſent *vindication of Scripture*, at every objection, you give the alarm; of *affronting God to his face; bidding defiance to the undoubted truths of God; runing into downright blaſphemy; ſhooting up arrows againſt Heaven*, &c.? Your Adverſary *cavils at Circumciſion*; *it is fact*, you ſay, *that God did require Circumciſion, and who art thou that replieſt againſt God?* You tell us, that the *modeſt way* of oppoſing a *Revelation*, pretended to be *divine*, is not to examine the *internal* merit of its doctrines, but the *external evidence* of the fact [*b*]: but this is certainly loſ-

[*a*] Religion of Nature delineated, P. 60.
[*b*] P. 64.

ing time, and beginning at the wrong end; ſince 'tis allowed on all hands, that if *any narration* can be ſhewn to be *falſe*; any *doctrine irrational* or *immoral*; 'tis not all the *external evidence in the world* that can or ought to convince us, that *ſuch a doctrine* comes from *God.*

For my own part, as I have no kind of intereſt to ſerve by the belief or eſtabliſhment of any opinion, beſides my private ſhare in the good it may do to the Publick, ſo it is the ſtudy and buſineſs of my life in every enquiry, whether *Civil*, *Natural*, or *Religious*, to ſearch for and embrace the *Truth*; or, where that is not certainly to be had, what comes the next to it, *probability*. And as in the preſent queſtion, 'tis my perſuaſion, that this way of *vindicating Scripture* cannot poſſibly do any ſervice, but probably much harm to the Cauſe you are defending; ſo I thought myſelf obliged by a regard to *Truth and the common Religion* we profeſs; to diſcourage, as far as I am able, the progreſs of a work, which is likely to be attended with ſuch ill conſequences: and if in *theſe Remarks*, (where I have endeavoured rather to ſhew the weakneſs of your reaſoning, than declare any ſentiments of my own) I have uſed any expreſſions of ſharpneſs or ſeverity, more than the nature of the ſubject required, they are not to be charged on any envy to your merit, or ſpleen to your Perſon, but to an indignation raiſed in me, to

ſee

ſee you *dictate ſo arbitarily*, and *decide ſo dogmatically* in points of the utmoſt difficulty and uncertainty; and in queſtions where hardly *two Commentators* have ever agreed in the *ſame ſolution*, contemn all objections as *ſlight trival*; as the meer effects of *ignorance* or *malice*; and beſtow the titles of *Fool*, and *Idiot*, on ſuch as differ from you in opinion, either of the *Authority or Interpretation* of the texts you are handling.

Yet after all, what *wonderful conviction* have you wrought; what feats have you done, towards *reſcuing the word of God from cavil and reproach?* In the *hiſtory of man's fall*, you have fixed an interpretation upon it, which Biſhop *Patrick* declares to be both *ſimple* and *incredible*. In the caſe of *Circumciſion*; inſtead of ſhewing *your Adverſary's ignorance*, you have betrayed *your own*; by denying that to be *painful or hazardous*, which for the *pain* of it was often *mortal*; nor allowing the *leaſt colour of reaſon* to an objection grounded in *probability*, and confirmed by *expreſs teſtimony*. Laſtly, in the ſtory of *Babel*, all that you have ſaid is little better than *jargon*; *unſupported by Scripture*; *contrary to reaſon*; and muſt needs appear ridiculous to all men of underſtanding.

And now, Sir, I leave you to contemplate the merit of your great atchievements; a pleaſure which has, I'm afraid, been ſomewhat interrupted

terrupted by the roughneſs of this Addreſs; and to ſhew my own impartiality, and that I am drawn into this controverſy by no other motive but a ſincere love to truth, and a ſincere reſolution to embrace it where-ever it is to be found; I ſhall proceed to uſe the ſame freedom with *your Adverſary*, by ſketching out a *Plan or rough Draught of ſuch an Anſwer* to him as would in my judgment be the moſt effectual to confute and overthrow his whole Hypotheſis.

The Deſign of this *Author* is to ſhew, that the *Chriſtian Religion*, as 'tis now practiſed amongſt us, is not onely *uſeleſs*, but *miſchievous*; that the *Light of Reaſon*, or *Religion of Nature*, is the *onely Guide* we ought to truſt to; being *a perfect and complete rule of duty in all caſes, both towards God and Man*; and conſequently, that *Chriſtianity ought to be aboliſhed*, and *Reaſon* advanced in its place as the *Publick and National Religion*.

That this is the *main deſign of his Book*, there needs no pains to prove; 'tis evident to all who read it; and the *Author himſelf*, I dare ſay, will not deny it. On this foundation then, his whole ſcheme may eaſily be ſhewn, even upon *his own principles*, to be both *irrational* and *immoral*; *irrational*, becauſe *impoſſible to be reduced to practice*; *immoral*, becauſe, *if poſſible*, yet *pernicious and hurtful to the Publick*.

The firſt may be proved, by the teſtimony of all ages; which teaches us, that *Reaſon*, whatever force and ſtrength it might have in particular men, yet never had credit or authority enough in the world to be received as a publick and authentick Rule either of *Religious* or *Civil Life:* this is allowed by all the *great Reaſoners* of the *Heathen World*, and the experience of its inſufficiency as a *Guide of Life*, is given by many of them as the very cauſe of the invention and eſtabliſhment of *Religion:* that *the authority of the latter* [*a*], *might reſtrain thoſe whom the former had been found too weak to keep in order. The life of man, according to* Euripides [*b*], *was once like that of beaſts, governed by force and violence; laws were then contrived to repel injuſtice; but when theſe proved ſtill inſufficient, Religion was at laſt invented. By whoſe myſteries,* as *Tully* obſerves [*c*], *men from a ſavage life became formed and cultivated, as it were, to humanity.*

'Tis then a confeſſed *maxim of the Antients*, that *Reaſon* had not light or force enough to *guide mankind* in a courſe of *Virtue and Morality:* in conſequence of which we find in fact, from the

[*a*] Ut, quos ratio non poſſet eos ad officium Religio duceret. Cic. Nat. Deor. l. 1. 42.

[*b*] Vid. Plutarch. de Placitis Philoſophor. l. 1. c. 7.

[*c*] Quibus ex agreſti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem & mitigati ſumus. Cic. de Legib. 2. 14.

records

records of all Hiſtory, that there never was a nation in the world, whoſe *publick Religion* was formed upon the *plan of Nature*, and inſtituted on the principles of *meer Reaſon*: but that *all Religions* have ever derived their Authority from the pretence of a *Divine Original*, and *a Revelation from Heaven*. This our *Author* himſelf in many places acknowledges, declaring, *that there never was a time or place without ſome traditional Religion or pretended Revelation* [*a*].

Such an *univerſal conſent* muſt needs be owing to an *univerſal conviction and experience of the inſufficiency of Reaſon*; and ſeems to be the *voice of Nature* diſclaiming it as a *Guide* in the caſe of *Religion*: and thus our *Author's Scheme*, by the confeſſion of *all Antiquity*, and even by *his own*, muſt appear *fooliſh and irrational*, in attempting to ſet up that for a *perfect rule of life*, which from the *nature of things* never was or could be received as ſuch in any age or country whatſoever.

Should he then gain his end, and actually demoliſh *Chriſtianity*, what would be the conſequence; what the fruit of his labours, but confuſion and diſorder; till ſome other *traditional Religion* could be ſettled in its place; till we had agreed to recall either the *Gods* of the *old World*, *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, *Venus*, *&c.* or with

[*a*] P. 184. 229. Chriſtian. as old, &c.

the *Idolaters of the new*, to worſhip *Sun*, *Moon and Stars*; or inſtead of *Jeſus*, take *Mahomet* or *Confucius* for the *Author of our Faith?* And hence may be demonſtrated the *immorality* alſo of *his Scheme*, even upon *his own principles*.

For ſhould we allow *Chriſtianity* to be a *meer Impoſture*, on a level onely with all the *other Impoſtures* that have obtained in the world; it would not be difficult to ſhew from the *dictates of Reaſon*, that an attempt to overturn it, as 'tis now *eſtabliſhed by Law*, *derived* from *our Anceſtors*, confirmed by the belief and practice of *ſo many ages*, muſt be *criminal and immoral*.

The *Moraliſts of the Heathen World*, tho' they clearly ſaw the cheat and forgery of the *eſtabliſhed Religion*, yet always perſuade and recommend a ſubmiſſion to it; well knowing what miſchief muſt needs befal the State by the ſubverſion of conſtitutions ſo greatly reverenced by the people. *Socrates*, when condemned to die on pretence of *ſubverting the Religion of his Country*, denies the charge, and appeals to all who knew him, whether he did not conſtantly comply with the *Publick Worſhip* [*a*]. And *Cicero*, as our *Author* himſelf allows, often *preſſes upon his countrymen a ſtrict obſervance of all the religious Rites eſtabliſhed by Authority*, and declares *all thoſe worthy of the laſt puniſhment*,

[*a*] Xenophon, Apolog. pro Socrate.

who

who ſhould attempt to diſturb them. And tho' he was himſelf an *Augur*, yet he is ſo far from *diſſembling* on that account, as this man fooliſhly inſinuates [*a*], that he declares the whole *buſineſs of Augury* to be a meer fiction; and tho' it might have been *received at firſt on an opinion of its real uſe in Divination, yet when that opinion was worn off, it was wiſely retained for the ſake of Government*, and the *influence it had on the peace of the Republick* [*b*].

The *Athenians*, upon rebuilding their City deſtroyed by *Xerxes*, enquiring of the *Oracle*, what *religious Rites they ſhould revive, were anſwered, ſuch as the cuſtom and laws of their Country had conſecrated* [*c*].

The Philoſopher *Protagoras* having declared in a book of his, that as to *the Gods, whether*

[*a*] P. 396.

[*b*] Non ſumes ii nos Augures, qui avium reliquorumve ſignorum obſervatione futura dicamus. De Div. 2. 33.

Nec vero non omni ſupplicio digni P. Clodius, & L. Junius, qui contra Auſpicia navigaverunt—parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos repudiandus, &c. Ibid.

Exiſtimo jus Augurum, etſi divinationis opinione principio conſtitutum ſit, tamen poſtea Reipublicæ cauſâ conſervatum. Ibid. 35.

Ordiar ab Haruſpicina, quam ego reipublicæ cauſâ, communiſque Religionis colendam cenſeo. Ibid. 12.

[*c*] Cic. de Legib. l. 2. 16.

they really exiſted or not exiſted, he had nothing to ſay; the *Athenians baniſhed him* their territories, and ordered *his book to be burnt* [*a*]. And 'twas the *fear of the ſame puniſhment*, that reſtrained *Epicurus* from ſpeaking his mind freely on the *ſame ſubject*; and tho' he believed nothing of the *Gods*, yet obliged him in *words at leaſt to allow their exiſtence* [*b*]. *Euripides* too, as *Plutarch* informs us [*c*], *when for fear of the Court of* Areopagus *he durſt not openly ridicule the Religion of his Country, contrived to do it covertly under the feigned characters of perſons introduced in his Plays.* And when *Diagoras* went ſo far as openly to *deride their myſteries*, they proclaimed *a great reward to any one, who ſhould kill him* [*d*].

Theſe were the *maxims*, theſe the *principles*, which the *light of Nature* ſuggeſted, which *Reaſon* dictated; and from theſe inſtances our *Author* may ſee how *his Attempt* would have been treated by a people the moſt famed for

[*a*] Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. 23. Protagoras, cum in principio libri ſui ſic poſuiſſet; de Divis, neque ut ſint, neque ut non ſint, habeo dicere; Athenienſium juſſu, urbe atque agro eſt exterminatus, librique ejus in concione combuſti. De Nat. Deor. l. 1. 23.

[*b*] Video nonnullis videri, Epicurum, ne in offenſionem Athenienſium caderet, verbis reliquiſſe Deos, &c. Ib. 30.

[*c*] Plutarch de Placitis Philoſoph. l. 1. c. 7.

[*d*] Διαγόρᾳ τάλαντον ἐπεκήρυξαν ἴ τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλοι, &c. Joſeph. contr. Ap. l. 2. 37. it. Suid. in Diagor.

learning

learning and politeneſs of any of the *Heathen World:* It would have been thought *worthy of the laſt puniſhment; his book burnt; himſelf baniſhed.*

And this may ſerve withal to ſhew his ignorance of Antiquity, in magnifying, as he does on all occaſions, the *moderation of Pagan Governments*, in oppoſition to *Chriſtian*; that they *indulged an univerſal liberty, never perſecuted for Religion, never quarrelled about their Gods* [*a*]: for he quite miſtakes the matter; 'tis not the *Believers of Religion*, but *Infidels and Atheiſts*, who in every country have always been the *ſevereſt perſecutors*, and *cruelleſt oppreſſors* of all *Civil* as well as *Religious Liberty.* For as this life is their all, they are the more jealous in guarding it; the more ſevere in ſuppreſſing every innovation in practice or opinion which might tend poſſibly to diſturb their repoſe; this is the conſtant obſervation of all who are verſed in hiſtory, eſpecially in that of *the Jews*; where the *Phariſees*, however *ſtrict* in the Obſervance of *their Religion*, were always *mild and gentle* in the *Seat of Judgment*; whereas the *Sadducees*, tho' little concerned for *Religion*, were moſt *implacable and rigorous animadverters on every ſlight tranſgreſſion of the Law* [*b*].

[*a*] P. 101.

[*b*] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 13. 10. it. 20. 8. it. de Bell. Jud. 2. 8.

Were *Chriſtianity* then to be treated as a *mere Impoſture*; on a level onely with the other *Impoſtures*, that have been received in the world; yet in this view we ſee plainly from the *dictates of Reaſon* and our *Author's own principles*, that an attempt to ſubvert it is both *irrational and immoral*: but ſhould we conſider it as the *beſt of all other Religions*; the beſt contrived to promote *publick peace* and the *good of Society*; and what *our Author* in his own book has demonſtrated, as coming the neareſt of all others to his *perfect law of Reaſon and Nature*; Then his crime will be aggravated in proportion, as he ſeeks to deſtroy a *better ſyſtem of Religion*, in order to introduce a *worſe*; ſince, as is ſaid above, ſome *traditional Religion* or other muſt always take place, as neceſſary to keep the world in order.

'*Tis the tendency of actions*, ſays he [*a*], *which makes them either good or bad*; *thoſe, that tend to promote human happineſs are always good*; *thoſe, that have a contrary tendency, always bad*: and this he declares to be a *never-failing rule, to judge of actions by their tendency* [*b*]: let's judge him then by his *own rule*.

The *tendency* of his book is to *aboliſh Chriſtianity*, and ſet up *Reaſon* in its place; the thing it ſelf is *impracticable*, the attempt therefore *fooliſh and irrational*.

[*a*] P. 345.
[*b*] P. 359.

The

The *tendency* of it is to diſturb *the publick peace*, by overturning *a Religion* derived from our Anceſtors; eſtabliſhed by publick Authority; reverenced by the people; 'tis *miſchievous* therefore, and *dangerous to the Society.*

The *tendency* of it is to aboliſh a *rational* and *well formed ſyſtem of Morality*, to eſtabliſh a *leſs perfect one* in its place; 'tis therefore *criminal and immoral.* Thus without entring into *particulars*, or undertaking to *vindicate all the ſingle texts* excepted to, which can ſerve onely to *multiply cavils* and *perpetuate diſputes*, our *Author's general Scheme* may at once be confuted, and that by the moſt effectual and deciſive way of confutation, the conſequence of *his own principles.*

The general doctrine, which *our Author* profeſſes to eſtabliſh, is, that the *Chriſtian Religion is nothing elſe but a Republication of the Law of Nature, and cannot be true and obligatory any farther, than as it correſponds entirely with that original Law:* and for this he has produced the concurrent teſtimony of *all our principal Divines*, eſtabliſhing the ſame opinion as expreſsly as he himſelf had done; and that they are ſincere in this declaration, and actually practiſe what they preach, he himſelf allows and effectually proves in many inſtances. *I have ſhewn you*, ſays he [*a*],

[*a*] P. 262.

by a number of inſtances, where Divines themſelves own, that though the literal ſenſe of Scripture be ever ſo plain, yet it muſt not ſtand in competition with what our Reaſon tells us, &c. And again, *Do not all interpret Scripture ſo, as to make it agreeable to the touchſtone of all Religion, the Nature and Reaſon of things* [*a*]?

What's the meaning then of all this clamour? What is it that he quarrels at? Our *Divines* not onely agree with him in his *general principle*, but actually put it in execution, and reduce it to practice. Why, becauſe there are ſtill behind a *few things*, (mark the expreſſion, for 'tis *his own*) *a few onely, which their ſuperſtition has made them interpret otherwiſe* [*b*]. This is the ground of all that ſpleen, which he ſo frankly exerts againſt the *whole order of Prieſts*; that tho' they agree with him almoſt in *every thing*, yet dare to differ from him in *any thing*; and preſume to interpret a *few things* ſo, as not to ſatisfy his *ſupreme and perfect Reaſon*.

Here we ſee a ſpecimen of his *candor* and *equity*; here the fruits of that *benevolent principle*, that *charitable Religion*, which the *light of Reaſon* preſcribes; that *Governments muſt be diſturbed, Churches diſſolved, Prieſts proſcribed*, becauſe they will not in every point ſubmit to his *infallible Reaſon*. What he ſays of Dr. *Rogers*.

[*a*] P. 425.
[*b*] P. 347.

may

may much more juſtly be applied to himſelf. *The Doctor is againſt the Pope of* Rome, *but 'tis to ſet himſelf up in his ſtead* [*a*]. For the *Pope*, we know, indulges his followers in many *particular Superſtitions* of their own, if they will but ſwallow the *main and groſs* of his doctrines; but this *rational Proteſtant* will not ſuffer even *his Teachers*, tho' agreeing with him in the *main*, to diſſent from him in a *few particulars*. And *is not this*, to uſe his own words, *Popery, even worſe than* Roman *Popery* [*b*]?

The *fundamental maxim* on which his whole attempt and all his hopes of ſucceſs from it ſeems to reſt, is, that *God cannot enjoin as a part of Religion, any arbitrary or poſitive precepts*, which do not directly flow from *the reaſon and nature of things*: or what comes to the ſame, that he cannot oblige us to any thing as a duty, whoſe *natural excellency and tendency to Morality* we do not immediately diſcover by *Reaſon and the Light of Nature*. This is the *main article* of his *rational Creed*; this the *ſingle point*, as he ſays, *that muſt decide the queſtion* [*c*]; for which reaſon I thought it neceſſary to ſpend a word or two upon it.

And here again, inſtead of ſquabbling with him about the real or comparative excellency

[*a*] P. 306.
[*b*] P. 307.
[*c*] P. 114.

of

of *the Precepts* he refers to, I ſhall purſue the ſame method, of turning *his own artillery* upon him, and endeavour by his own reaſoning to confute *this favourite poſition* of his; which may be done, I think, by the *very arguments* he makes uſe of to eſtabliſh it. Of which I ſhall produce two inſtances.

The firſt is an argument formed from the *ſimilar conduct of God* towards us, in the contrivance of his *viſible Works*, and of *his Laws*. *If God's Works*, ſays he [*a*], *ſhew infinite Wiſdom, there's no reaſon to imagine but that his Laws do the ſame*, &c. And in concluding the argument, *God forbid, that any of his Laws have not impreſſed on them the ſame character of the higheſt Wiſdom and Goodneſs, that is impreſſed on the whole frame of Nature, and on every part of it.*

Now to prove any thing from theſe premiſes, the argument ought to run thus: *God forbid, that in the whole frame of God's Laws there ſhould not be the ſame proof of his Wiſdom as in the whole frame of his Works.* This is the onely concluſion that can be drawn from a compariſon of *his Laws* and *Works*; in which every rational Chriſtian muſt needs have agreed with him. But then this is ſo far from proving what he infers from it, that it proves juſt the con-

[*a*] P. 124.

trary,

trary, and overturns the *main principle* of his book. For though the wiſe of all ages have from the *excellency of God's Works* collected the *excellency of his Nature*; yet in thoſe *very Works, generally ſo excellent*, all ſtill agree, that there are ſome *particulars*, not onely whoſe nature, but whoſe uſe or reaſon of exiſtence cannot be diſcovered by the moſt curious ſearchers into Nature; nay, ſome things which, conſidered ſeparately, appear even *noxious* to the reſt; all which, tho' not underſtood, are yet reaſonably preſumed to be good and perfect in their ſeveral kinds, and ſubſervient to the general beauty and excellency of the *whole Syſtem*.

The caſe, we allow, is exactly the ſame with *God's Laws*; which, though in general they demonſtrate the *infinite Wiſdom of their Author*, yet may in ſome particulars be ſo contrived, as that the natural excellency of them cannot eaſily be apprehended. For were it otherwiſe, 'tis certain, that God would act *differently* with us, in the diſpenſation of *his Works* and of *his Laws*, in both which this Writer contends for *the neceſſity of a ſimilar conduct*.

'Tis then full as unreaſonable to charge all *poſitive precepts*, ſuppoſed to be from *God*, that is, all whoſe *uſe and relation to Morality we cannot comprehend*, to fraud and impoſture; as in the *viſible Works of God* to impute every thing we do not underſtand, or even every thing that ſeems *hurtful*, to the contrivance of ſome *malicious*

licious Power, oppoſite to the *Divine Nature*. And as on the one hand we do not exclude from the *catalogue of God's Works* all thoſe particulars, in which we cannot trace the marks of *Divine Wiſdom*; ſo on the other, we cannot exclude from the *body of his Laws*, thoſe *few injunctions*, which ſeem not to have impreſſed on them the *legible characters of Morality*.

The ſecond argument is in the following paragraph, and runs thus. *'Tis impoſſible*, ſays he [*a*], *that men ſhould have any juſt idea of the perfections of God, who think that the dictates of infinite Wiſdom do not carry their own evidence with them; or are not by their own innate worth diſcoverable to all mankind: were it not ſo how could they be diſtinguiſhed from the uncertain opinions of weak and fallible men? &c.* This indeed ſeems oppoſite to what the Scripture informs us of the *counſels of God*: that *his ways are not as man's ways, but unſearchable and paſt finding out*: and 'tis not contrary onely to *Scripture*, but to *Reaſon* too: for what difference could there be in *Nature* between *perfect and imperfect*; *finite and infinite* knowledge; if the *finite* could clearly diſcover every purpoſe of the *infinite*? Both *Reaſon and Scripture* teach us, that *God knows and ſees thro' the heart of man*; but no man's reaſon before this ever taught, that *Man knows and ſees thro' the heart of God*: that man,

[*a*] P. 125.

whose knowledge is so narrow even in the common concerns of life, can *fathom all the counsels, interpret all the laws* of an *infinitely wise Creator*? Thus his own argument turns against himself. *If the dictates of infinite Wisdom*, says he, *are not discoverable to all mankind, how could they be distinguished from the opinions of fallible men?* Whereas on the contrary, were it true what he contends for, it would be more difficult to *distinguish* them: for if all the *designs of God were as discoverable to man*, as *man's are to God*, he might well say, *where's the distinction?* But there's no one truth more certain, or flowing more necessarily from the *reason and nature of things*, that tho' *God* perfectly understands every purpose of man, yet that there not only may be, but really are many things, effected by his power and ordained by his will, which *Man* is not *capable of comprehending*.

This is the substance of what I would propose for an *Answer to this Author*; which when explained more at large, and filled out by proper testimonies and authorities of other Writers, might be sufficient to confute his *general Scheme*, as well as the *fundamental principle* on which 'tis built. But to shew farther that whatever be the real excellency and perfection of *Reason*, yet *his reason* at least is very *defective* and *imperfect*, and can have no pretence to set up for a *Guide in Religion*; many instances may occasionally be interspersed:

1. Of

1. Of *his blunders in points of Hiſtory*: for tho' he often affirms, that *Heatheniſm never taught men to quarrel about Religion, except in Egypt*; nor *ever raged to that degree, as to occaſion bloodſhed, wars, and perſecution*; yet *Hiſtory* would teach him, that the politeſt people, as well as the greateſt lovers of liberty, of the *Heathen World*, the *Greeks*, had their *Holy Wars*, their *Solemn Leagues and Covenants*, as well as *Chriſtian Zealots*: particularly one againſt the *Phocenſians*, of which *Philip of Macedon* was choſen Head [*a*].

2. Of his *inconſiſtency* with himſelf; when at ſome times to blacken the *preſent ſtate of the Church*, he appeals to the *primitive Ages and primitive Fathers* as actuated by quite different principles of *piety and ſimplicity* [*b*]: at other times, to blacken the *whole ſtate of Religion*, he reflects upon *thoſe very Ages, held*, as he ſays, *for the pureſt*, as the moſt *impure and corrupt of all, and that the farther we go back, the more frauds we ſhall find* [*c*]. In the ſame manner, to make the *Chriſtian Prieſt* more odious, he

[*a*] Demoſthenis Orat. contra Æſchin. p. 95. Edit. Foulkes & Friend. Incredibile quantum ea res gloriæ Philippo dedit; illum vindicem ſacrilegii, illum ultorem Religionum, &c. Juſt. Hiſt. l. 8.

[*b*] P. 109, 313. 319.

[*c*] P. 162.

repreſents

repreſents the *Pagan and Mahometan Prieſts* as very Saints in compariſon; at leaſt as harmleſs innocent creatures, who *never did any miſchief* [*a*]. Yet at other times, to make the *very character and name of Prieſt* abominable, he declares them to be *all alike*; *all equally wicked*; *of all Religions the ſame* [*b*].

3. Of his *malice to the Clergy*; whom he deſcribes every where as an *Order of men profligate and abandoned to wickedneſs*; *inconſiſtent with the good of ſociety*; *irreconcileable enemies to reaſon*; *conſpirators againſt the liberty and property of mankind* [*c*]: whilſt yet he ſhews by many inſtances, that the whole employment of their profeſſion is to *explain Chriſtianity ſo as to make it agreeable to the reaſon and nature of things:* as if thoſe could be *enemies to Reaſon*, who are conſtantly *preaching it up*.

4. Laſtly, of his *obſtinate perſeverance in errors*, once embraced: this appears from *his repeated charge of forgery on the Church, in the caſe of the 20th Article* [*d*]: tho' the charge has ſo oft been confuted and ſhewn to be groundleſs by ſuch undeniable evidence as can leave no farther room for ſcruples with any reaſonable man.

[*a*] P. 108.
[*b*] P. 233, 282, 160.
[*c*] P. 47, 108, 160, 163, 164, 180, 241, 281, &c.
[*d*] P. 160.

Thus, Sir, I have *ſketched out the rough draught* of *ſuch an Anſwer* to this Author, as in my judgment is the moſt likely to deſtroy his credit with all who pretend to reaſon: my comfort at leaſt is, that if it does no good, it cannot do any harm: whereas in your method of treating the controverſy, you run *too great a riſk*; expoſe *Religion to too great hazard*; and engage on *too great odds* with your Antagoniſt. For ſhould he fail in his attempt, he loſes nothing but reputation by being baffled, nor hurts the general cauſe of reaſon by expoſing the weakneſs of his own. But the caſe is different with you; 'tis *the cauſe of Religion*, that reſts on your ſhoulders; and the ſucceſs of it in ſome meaſure depends, on the ſucceſs of your performance: for whilſt you excite the attention of the Nation to your *Vindication of Scripture*, ſhould that *Vindication* fail in any part, you ſo far expoſe the *Scripture itſelf* to contempt; give a real triumph to its enemies; confirm them in their infidelity; and inject probably new ſcruples where none had been entertained before. Leaving it therefore to your ſerious conſideration, whether you ought to proceed any further in ſo hazardous an undertaking,

I am, &c.

A D E-

A

DEFENCE

OF THE

LETTER

TO

Dr. *WATERLAND*;

Againſt the falſe and frivolous Cavils of

The AUTHOR of the REPLY.

———*Fragili quærens illidere dentem*
Offendet ſolido——Hor.

A

DEFENCE

OF THE

LETTER

TO

Dr. *WATERLAND*, &c.

SIR,

'TIS with no ſmall reluctance that I have prevail'd with myſelf at laſt to take notice of *your Reply* to *my Letter to Dr. Waterland*: Your Criticiſms upon it are either ſo trifling, or ſo falſe, that I was perfectly ſecure of their making any impreſſion to my diſadvantage on men of ſenſe or learning: and as it has been my care, in what I have hitherto offered to the Publick, to conſult both the profit and pleaſure of my Reader, ſo I was loth to ſit down to a Controverſy unlikely to afford either; to diſpute onely about words, and ſquabble about the grammatical conſtruction of ſeparate Scraps and Quotations.

However, ſince nothing elſe that deſerves the leaſt attention has appear'd on the occaſion but *this Reply* of yours, which by the ſolemn gravity of its ſtile, and the air of authority it breathes, may poſſibly paſs with ſome for a learned and judicious performance, I have thought proper to give it a particular examination; eſpecially as it will afford me an opportunity of explaining myſelf more clearly in ſome points where, contrary to my intention, I may perhaps have given offence; and of opening by the way ſome queſtions of great importance, toward ſetting Chriſtianity on its true and natural foundation.

The clamour you raiſe againſt me is for *attempting to weaken the authority of Moſes*, and your Title page like an Alarm bell gives warning thro' the Nation of an Enemy gone out to lay waſte and deſtroy Revelation, and propagate Infidelity; and yet I defy you to ſhew any thing advanced in *my Letter*, for which I have not the authority of the beſt and moſt rational Apologiſts, both ancient and modern, as well of the *Jewiſh* as *Chriſtian Religion*. 'Tis not my deſign to deſtroy or weaken any thing but thoſe ſenſeleſs ſyſtems and prejudices, which ſome ſtiff and cloudy Divines will needs faſten to the body of Religion, as neceſſary and eſſential to the ſupport of it. For in this age of Scepticiſm, where Chriſtianity is ſo vigorouſly attacked,

attacked, and as it were closely besieged, the true way of defending it, is not to enlarge the compass of its fortifications, and make more help necessary to its defence, than it can readily furnish; but like skilful Engineers, to demolish its weak outworks, that serve onely for shelter and lodgment to the enemy, whence to batter it the more effectually, and draw it within the compass of its firm and natural entrenchments, which will be found in the end impregnable.

You say, that *Dr. Waterland's character as a learned and rational advocate for Christianity drew down the weight of my wit and reading upon him; and that he had done too much good, not to receive ill at the hands of the favourers of Infidelity* [a]. But is not this both rash and uncharitable, to assert so roundly what you cannot know to be true; that the ground of my quarrel to the Doctor is *the good he was doing Christianity?* 'Tis possible, Sir, that my name may not always continue a secret, and whenever I shall have the honour of being known to you, if I be not thought incapable of quarrelling with any man for *the good he does*; and if my life be not found as exemplary and agreeable to the rules of the Gospel, as that of the most zealous champion of you all; then will I allow every thing you can say or suspect of me to be just and reasonable.

[a] Reply, P. 6.

In the mean while I contemn your groundleſs charge of *Infidelity*; declare myſelf a *true friend to Chriſtianity*; which I am able, I think, to defend by principles much more rational and conſiſtent than thoſe you ſeem poſſeſſed of; as will appear very clear in the ſequel of this controverſy. And I muſt withal declare, that I have no quarrel at all to Dr. *Waterland*, but on the contrary a great reſpect for his known learning and abilities; am perſuaded onely, that whatever good he deſigned, his way of defending Scripture is very ſure of doing miſchief to the common Religion we profeſs: this I have ſhewn in *my Letter* to him by ſeveral inſtances, and could have ſhewn it in as many more had it been neceſſary, with no other view, than to divert him from purſuing a method of defence ſo dangerous to the cauſe he was vindicating: but ſince my Remonſtrance has made no impreſſion on him; and he has now thought fit to ſecond the blow he had given, tho' I am ſtill the more confirmed by his laſt performance in the ſentiments I had declared of the firſt, yet I ſhall hardly give myſelf or him any farther trouble, as it could ſerve onely to illuſtrate and ſpread the ſcandal already given, by collecting and pointing it out to the Reader; which I have no inclination to do any farther than I may be obliged to it by the Doctor or Yourſelf in vindication of my own credit and judgment.

In

In all Controverſies about Religion, the chief provocation to men of ſenſe is to ſee a ſet of raſh, dogmatical Divines, whoſe minds, pre-poſſeſſed with ſyſtems, and darkened with prejudices, could never ſee thro' the miſts their Nurſes and Mothers had ſpread about their eyes, ſetting themſelves up for the onely guides and teachers of truth to the Nation; requiring the learning and reaſon of mankind to ſubmit to their arbitrary deciſions, and branding with the name of *Sceptick and Infidel*, all who cannot admit their manner of explaining and defining the terms of Chriſtian Faith. Such Divines as theſe are ſo far from acting up to the character they aſſume, of *Phyſicians of the ſoul*, by ſhewing any care to gild the pill they preſcribe, and temper their medicines to the ſtate and condition of the Patient, that they expect to treat rational creatures, as Farriers do their Horſes, tie them up by the noſe, and ſo make them ſwallow whatever they think fit to throw down: Theſe are the men I ſhall ever quarrel with, as the Tyrants and Oppreſſors of Reaſon and Conſcience, and conſequently enemies to the peace and happineſs of mankind.

But 'tis time to open the ſtate of our preſent Controverſy: *Your buſineſs*, you ſay [*a*], *with me is not to enter into diſpute about the Reaſonings*

[*a*] Reply, p. 6.

advanced

advanced in my Letter, but to ſet before me and expoſtulate with me about the many falſhoods it abounds with, both in quotations and hiſtorical facts. And here we ſee the firſt ſpecimen of your art and inſincerity; for tho' you pretend not to meddle at all with *my Reaſonings*, yet a great part of your performance is wholly employed in examining them: nor do you ever omit the leaſt opportunity of cavilling at them, as far as you dare venture, which is generally out of your depth, as we ſhall frequently ſee in the progreſs of this diſpute: But 'twas prudent to ſecure a retreat beforehand, that whenever you come to be puſh'd, you might ſhelter yourſelf under this previous declaration, that it was not *my Reaſonings*, but *my Quotations* you had undertaken to attack.

Again, as to the *many falſhoods of my Quotations*, you betray at ſetting out a ſtrange diſingenuity, for you undertake to *convict me of having hardly made one original Quotation of an Author in his true ſenſe, very often in a ſenſe moſt oppoſite to the true one* [a]. A compleat victory indeed! not to leave *one Quotation* alive! not to let a ſingle one eſcape, but to treat theſe *Rebels to Religion*, like *Catiline's Rebels* to the State, mow them all down in the very ranks where they ſtand. But this is purſuing onely the old rule Calumny; *to calumniate ſtrongly, without*

[a] Reply, p. 7.

any

any regard to truth, that ſomething at laſt may ſtick: for tho' you wou'd prepoſſeſs the Reader with the notion, that I have not repreſented ſo much as *one Quotation truly*; yet out of about *fourſcore*, which are referred to in my *ſhort Letter*, all you pretend to criticiſe are but *fifteen*; and of this number *two* are thrown in merely to enhance the reckoning, and do not at all relate to *my Quotations*, but contain onely ſome cavils to *my Reaſonings*.

Laſtly, as to the *many falſhoods of my Hiſtorical Facts*, which you proclaim me guilty of in your *Title page*; the whole number you conteſt with me amounts onely to *one:* and tho' to ſave your credit you would fain ſtretch it to *two*, yet your ſecond inſtance concerns no fact at all, but my ſolution onely of a fact, about which we both join iſſue, *viz.* the *Moſaic account of the Confuſion of Babel.* Is this agreeable to the gravity and character you aſſume of an Advocate of Chriſtianity? or can it do any good to the Cauſe of Religion to defend it by ſuch artful methods of Calumny; and in the very act of expoſing, as you pretend, my want of veracity, to give the real ſcandal of ſo notorious and wilful an inſincerity?

But to proceed to the examination of your ſeveral Criticiſms; which I ſhall take notice of in the order as they offer themſelves, neither evading nor palliating the force of any of them. You

You begin your attack by charging me with four inſtances of falſification in as many examples of quotations made from *Cicero*; and accuſe me not onely of prejudice and partiality, but of quoting him for *ſaying what he really does not ſay*; nay, what he *diſclaims and declares againſt* [*a*]; and conclude by lamenting that this *Great Maſter of Reaſon ſhould have ſo unworthy a Follower as Myſelf.* This you confirm as to the two firſt inſtances, by ſhewing that I have imputed to *Cicero*, what he ſpeaks onely under the perſon of *Cotta* and under the fiction of a *Dialogue*, and what muſt not therefore be conſidered as his own opinion.

But you muſt needs be little acquainted with *Cicero's Dialogues*, to imagine that under theſe feign'd characters he does not frequently repreſent his own real thoughts: *You will wonder*, ſays he, in his letter to *Varro*, prefix'd to his *Academick Queſtions*, *to find a Converſation deſcribed between you and me which we never held together, but you know the manner of Dialogues* [*b*]: and in the Preface of his *Book of Old Age*, he tells us, that he aſſign'd the principal part to *Old Cato*, in order to give the *greater weight and authority to his own ſentiments* [*c*]. Now in this

[*a*] Reply to the Letter, p. 9, 10.

[*b*] Epiſt. Fam. l. 9. ad Varron. 8.

[*c*] Sermonem tribuimus non Tithono — ſed M. Catoni ſeni quo majorem auctoritatem haberet Oratio.

Book

Book about the *Nature of the Gods*, whence my two Quotations are taken, *He* has inſtituted a *Dialogue* between three perſons, of the three different Sects of Philoſophy of moſt credit at that time in the world; *Velleius the Epicurean*, *Balbus the Stoick*, and *Cotta the Academick:* which laſt from the Principles of that Philoſophy undertakes to confute the notions of the *Stoicks*, about *Religion* and the *Gods:* and does not every one who knows any thing of *Cicero*, know that he was of the *ſame Sect*; a conſtant Follower of the *Academy* in his real Judgment? ſo that if there be any thing in that *whole Dialogue*, which can be called *Cicero's own* more peculiarly and properly than the reſt, 'tis the very part and character aſſigned to *Cotta:* for in his *ſecond Book of Divination*, where he diſputes in his own perſon, he takes the ſame ſide, and uſes the ſame arguments, which he had put here into the mouth of *Cotta*, to confute the opinion of the *Stoicks* about *Religion* and *Divination*. Where then does he diſclaim the paſſages I have quoted; why no where; but on the contrary in other places confirms them; and declares onely in general in the cloſe of this very Conference, that the *argument of Balbus or the Stoick ſeemed ſomewhat the more probable* [*a*]: which may well be looked upon as a compliment to *Brutus*, to whom he addreſſes this very book; for as *Brutus* was a *Stoick*, it was but a proper civi-

[*a*] De Nat. Deor. l. 3. ad fin.

lity

lity in a *Dialogue* dedicated to him, to give a ſlight preference to the Principles he profeſſed; as we find him to have actually done on another occaſion, in allowing the Philoſophy that *Brutus* followed to be the beſt [*a*], tho' himſelf was of a different Sect.

But you carry the point ſtill farther, and tell us, that the ſentences here quoted are ſo far from being *Cicero*'s, that they are not even *Cotta*'s; who owns at laſt, that all he had been ſaying was not built *on any certain judgment, but propoſed onely for argument's ſake, in which he was willing to be confuted.* And here whilſt you fancy yourſelf puſhing your adverſary, you betray onely your own ignorance: for every one converſant in Antiquity cannot but know, that it was the peculiar character and diſtinction of the *Academy*, *Nullum judicium interponere*; to deliver *nothing dogmatically*, to declare *no judgment* of its own; to follow onely the *probable*; and beat down every thing advanced as *certain or ſelf-evident* [*b*]. *Cotta* therefore, tho' agreeably to the Principles of his Sect, he might wiſh to be confuted, that is, to have ſome greater degree of probability offered to him, than what he had before acquieſced in; yet muſt be

[*a*] Qui tum in Philoſophia, tum in optimo genere Philoſophiæ tantum proceſſeris. De Fin. l. 3. init.

[*b*] De Divin. l. 2. 3. Hæc in Philoſophia ratio contra omnia diſſerendi, nullamque rem judicandi, &c. Nat. Deor. 1. init.

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed in the mean while to have embraced and approved the Sentiments he had been aſſerting in this Diſpute as the moſt probable.

Your Cavil to my next Quotation is ſtill more ridiculous, for tho' 'tis truly taken from *Cicero*, yet 'tis found there, you ſay, *in the mouth of an Objector*. Where I muſt own my ſelf puzzled to gueſs what you would be at: for you no ſooner ſtart the Cavil, than confute it yourſelf; telling us that *Cicero ſays the ſame thing in another place*, and in *anſwering the very objection acknowledges the truth of it* [*a*]: but is a fact then leſs true for being propoſed as an *Objection?* nay is there not the greater preſumption of its weight for being offered in that form? and if it be true, which is all I'm concern'd for, 'tis entirely the ſame thing, whether it be put as a *Queſtion*, *Anſwer*, or *Objection*: 'tis put, it ſeems, in *Tully* as an *Objection*, and 'tis put juſt ſo in my *Letter*; where I ſhall leave it in its place, without loſing more time about a Criticiſm ſo impertinent.

Your laſt inſtance of Falſification charged on me from *Tully*, is the mention of a *Dream of Alexander the Great*, about *a Serpent's ſpeaking to him*, which *Tully*, I ſay, *makes merry with*. To this you give a double Anſwer: Firſt, That tho' *Cicero had laugh'd at ſuch a Dream, yet 'tis*

[*a*] Rep. p. 11.

no

no more a conſequence than that my left hand is my right, that he wou'd have laugh'd at the Story of a Serpent's really ſpeaking, when atteſted ſo credibly, as 'tis by Moſes. Secondly, that in fact, *he did not laugh at the Dream at all, and that 'tis all a merry invention of my own* [a]. And ſo far I agree with you, that what he ridicules is not ſo much the extravagance of a Dream, a thing common with every body, as the pretended miraculous effect of it, and the fooliſh credulity of thoſe who look on ſuch Dreams as ſent from God. But I inſiſt upon it withal, that he laughs too at the fancy of a *Serpent's ſpeaking*, and that eſpecially when it had *its mouth full*; but as this was not the caſe of *Moſes*'s *Serpent*, you think it clear, that had he *met with the Story ſo well atteſted by the graveſt and moſt antient of all Hiſtorians, he muſt needs have believed it.*

This indeed is a curious and ingenious problem, worthy the meditation of ſo judicious a perſon as your ſelf, whether *Cicero would have believed this Story or no:* and tho' I have neither leiſure nor inclination to diſcuſs it with you at preſent, yet cannot help offering a hint or two which may be of uſe in ſo important an enquiry.

Cicero then aſſerts on all occaſions, that our belief or opinion of things ought not to depend

[a] Rep. p. 12, 13.

on *Teſtimony or Authority, but on the weight and moment of Reaſons:* condemns the *Pythagoreans* for their *Ipſe dixit*, or implicit faith in their *Maſter Pythagoras:* and declares it *unworthy of a Philoſopher or Man of Senſe* to appeal to *ſuch Witneſſes as may be ſuſpected to have falſified, or feigned the Facts they relate*; and to ſhew the Truth of things by *extraordinary Events* inſtead of Arguments [*a*]. Theſe, Sir, were the Sentiments of *Cicero*, and I muſt leave it to your contemplation, whether a perſon poſſeſſed of ſuch notions could eaſily take up with a Story ſo ſurprizing and prodigious on the ſingle teſtimony of an Author, who lived above *two thouſand years* after the fact, tho' he *pretended*, as you ſay, *to be inſpired.*

But ſince you have thought fit to call this Story again upon the ſtage, and vouch for *Cicero*, that he would have believed it on the *ſame good Authority that Jews and Chriſtians do*; pray tell us, Sir, after all, what it is that we Chriſtians are obliged to believe of it; Muſt

[*a*] Non enim tam auctores in diſputando, quam rationis momenta quærendà ſunt—nec probare ſoleo id, quod de Pythagoricis accepimus, quos ferunt, ſi quid affirmarent in diſputando, cum ex iis quæreretur, quare ita eſſet, reſpondere ſolitos, Ipſe dixit—De Nat. Deor. l. 2.

Hoc ego Philoſophi non arbitror teſtibus uti; qui aut caſu veri, aut malitia falſi, fictique eſſe poſſunt. Argumentis et rationibus oportet quare quidque ita ſit docere; non eventis, &c. De Divin. l. 2.

we believe it to be all an *Allegory?* No; 'tis the *Allegorical Interpretation* that has drawn this clamour upon me, of *weakning the authority of Moſes*, and *favouring Infidelity*. Muſt we believe it to be all *Literal?* No; we are not allowed to do that, ſince there's certainly much *Myſtery* in it. What then are we to do? why, we are to conſider it neither as *Fact* nor *Fable*; neither *Literal* nor *Allegorical*; but *both* together: to interpret one ſentence *literally*; the next *allegorically*; the third again *literally*, and ſo on to the end of the Chapter; which like the very *Serpent* it treats of, is all over ſpotted and ſpeckled, here with *Letter*, there with *Myſtery*, and ſometimes with a daſh of both.

For inſtance; *God made Man*, we accept *literally*; but *after his own image* in a *figurative* or *metaphorical* ſenſe: that *God made Woman*, we believe *literally*; but out of the *Rib of Man* moſt interpret *allegorically: God planted a Garden or Paradiſe*; here Commentators are endleſly divided between *Letter* and *Allegory*; ſome will have it to be in *heaven*, ſome on *earth*, others in a *middle region* between both. Again; *the Serpent was more ſubtle than any Beaſt of the field*, we underſtand *literally*; but this *ſubtle creature* no ſooner accoſts *Eve*, than he becomes an *allegorical Beaſt*; the *old Serpent*; the *old Deceiver*, *Satan*. Laſtly, as to the puniſhment denounced on the Offenders, *I will put enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed; it ſhall*

ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel; 'tis all *Allegory*, all a great *Myſtery*.

Now is it not more rational to follow one uniform, conſiſtent way of Interpretation, than to jump at every ſtep ſo arbitrarily from *Letter* to *Allegory*: and if the *Letter* be found in fact contradictory to *Reaſon* and the notions we have of *God*, what is there left us but to recur to *Allegory?* for which we have the authority of moſt of the *Primitive Fathers*, and the beſt *Jewiſh Writers*: and the *allegorical way* of expounding was ſo far from giving ſcandal in former ages of the Church, that on the contrary, to ſlight it was looked upon as heretical and full of dangerous conſequences [*a*].

Philo, the moſt learned and orthodox defender of the *Jewiſh Religion*, treats this very Hiſtory of the *Creation and Fall of Man* as wholly *allegorical*. By *Paradiſe*, ſays he, *we may ſuppoſe ænigmatically ſignified the governing part of the Soul, full of various opinions, like ſo*

[*a*] Propter has cauſas omnia quæ de Paradiſo dicta ſunt ſpiritualiter intelligentes Interpretes, quorum meminimus, dixerunt, quod diverſæ natæ ſint hæreſes a quibuſdam hominibus qui carnaliter audierunt, quæ de Deo et Paradiſo dicuntur, &c. Vide Bibliothec. Patrum, per Marg. de la Bigue. Par. 1589. Tom. 1. p. 270.

Sunt inter Hæreticos qui contendunt minimè convenire, ut Vet. Teſtamenti ſcripta myſticè atque aliter quam de rebus ipſis interpretentur, &c. ibid. p. 409. c. 3.

many Plants; by the Tree of Life, Piety towards God, the greateſt of Virtues, by which the Soul is made immortal: by the Tree of knowledge of Good and Evil, our common Underſtanding, by which we diſtinguiſh things contrary to each other in nature, &c. And when he comes to the ſtory of the *Serpent*; *Theſe things,* ſays he, *are not like the fabulous Fictions of Poets and Sophiſters, but figurative or typical Leſſons of Inſtruction, inviting us to ſearch for the Allegorical Senſe, by the diſcovery of its latent and hidden meaning: in which whoever follows the moſt probable conjecture, will find the Serpent, as 'tis aptly called, to be the ſymbol of Pleaſure* [*a*]: &c. whence he goes on to give the ſame *Allegorical* Interpretation of the whole, which I have done in my *Letter.*

Clemens of Alexandria tells us, that *all Writers, whether Barbarians or Greeks, who have ever treated of Theology, have induſtriouſly obſcured the beginning and origin of things, by delivering the truth in Ænigma's, Symbols, Allegories, Metaphors and ſuch like figures* [*b*]. And in another place, that the *whole Scripture is written in the Parabolical Stile* [*c*], for which he gives ſeveral reaſons.

[*a*] Philo de Opificio Mun. p. 35, 36, &c.

[*b*] Strom. l. 5. Op. T. 2. p. 658. Edit. Potter.

[*c*] Παραβολικὸς γὰρ ὁ χαραχτὴρ τῶν γραφῶν, ib. l. 6. p. 803.

Euſebius

Euſebius ſhews, that *Moſes*'s *Hiſtory of the Creation, of Paradiſe and the Fall of Man*, was delivered by him in this *recondite and ſymbolical way of learning*; and that *Plato*, (changing onely the names, as of *Paradiſe* into the *Garden of Jupiter*, &c.) has copied the whole Story, and *allegoriſed* it juſt as *Moſes* had done before him [*a*]; of which he gives likewiſe ſome other examples.

And that the *Primitive Writers* in general eſteemed *the ſymbolical or figurative interpretation of Scripture*, to be on many occaſions the onely method of *vindicating it*, is very certain and undeniable: for inſtance, the *Moſaic Laws* about *Animals clean and unclean* were conſidered by them as wholly *allegorical*, full of a *hidden and myſtical* meaning: *The Law*, ſays *Philo*, *accounts the Camel an unclean beaſt, becauſe tho' he chews the cud, he does not divide the hoof; now if we conſider this according to the outward Letter, 'tis hard to ſay, what ſenſe there is in it, but if according to the inward meaning, there is a moſt clear and neceſſary one, &c.* which he goes on to explain [*b*].

When Moſes told *the People*, ſays *Barnabas*, *that they were to abſtain from ſuch and ſuch Animals; the Command of God does not import a*

[*a*] Præpar. Evang. p. 343. Edit. R. Steph.
[*b*] De Agricult. p. 206.

real Prohibition to eat; but Moſes ſpoke ſpiritually, and by prohibiting Swine's fleſh meant onely to ſay, thou ſhalt not keep company, or join thy ſelf to ſuch Men, as in their manners are like to Swine, &c. [*a*]

Clemens of Alexandria, Euſebius, Lactantius, &c. follow *Barnabas*'s interpretation: *Tertullian* goes further, and ſays, that *nothing is ſo contemptible as the Moſaic Laws about the diſtinction and prohibition of animal food:* and *Origen* ſtill more freely; *that if we take them literally, they are unworthy of God, and leſs rational than the Laws of Men, as of the Romans, Athenians, Lacedemonians; nay, that ſome of them are contrary to reaſon and impoſſible to be obſerved* [*b*].

Thus far then you muſt needs allow me to be orthodox; clear of any attempt either againſt the *Authority of Moſes,* or in *favour of Infidelity*; unleſs you will involve in the ſame crime with me the moſt pious and learned *Fathers of the Church,* and the ableſt Defenders of Chriſtianity in all Ages: Let us ſee how juſt your charge upon me is in the following Articles; particularly that of the *Jewiſh Circumciſion*; where you next examine what I have advanced in relation to *its divine Origin.*

[*a*] S. Barnab. Epiſt. c. x. p. 30. Edit. Coteler.
[*b*] Vid. ibid. Cotelerii Not. 42.

You

You affirm in the firſt place, that *I think with the Author of Chriſtianity as old, &c. that Circumciſion was borrowed from Ægypt* [*a*]. But, pray Sir, where have I declared that I think ſo? All that I endeavour or intended to ſhew, was the raſhneſs and unreaſonableneſs of thoſe Divines, who aſſert its *divine Origin* in a ſtile ſo *dogmatical and overbearing* as cannot fail of giving diſguſt to Men of candour and learning; not allowing the leaſt *colour of reaſon* to the contrary opinion, but treating it as the meer effect of malice and ignorance; a way of defence ſo contrary to good ſenſe and good manners, that the cauſe of Religion muſt needs ſuffer by it.

However, Sir, had I really thought, what you impute to me, 'tis not at leaſt in your power to convince me of an error, as we ſhall ſoon ſee by the weak attempt you make towards it. For in conſidering a Quotation of mine from *Joſephus*, you ſay, *'Tis plain that Joſephus does not ſpeak there of any Ægyptians circumciſed, but Prieſts onely; and that if I had tranſlated him right, my Argument would have been ſpoiled*; and that for your part, *you gather from what Joſephus ſays of Herodotus, that he underſtood Herodotus to mean that the Ægyptian Prieſts onely were circumciſed:* whence you form

[*a*] Reply, p. 13.

immediately an Hypotheſis out of your own brain; *that theſe Prieſts of Ægypt taught the Prieſts of other Nations to be circumciſed, on pretence that it was neceſſary in ſuch onely for the ſake, not of Cleanlineſs, as I render the word καθαριότητος, but of Purity, or internal Holineſs, juſt as it was among the Jews* [a].

But now, Sir, if the contrary to this be true in every particular; if *the Ægyptian People in general, and not the Prieſts onely were circumciſed*; if *Joſephus underſtood Herodotus in that very ſenſe*, and laſtly, if *Circumciſion* was uſed by them juſt as I have ſaid, *for the ſake of outward Cleanlineſs*, and not as your Criticiſm imports, *inward Purity*; what will you ſay for yourſelf; what excuſe will you make for giving me ſo much trouble? Will not the Reader begin to ſuſpect that with all this Gravity you are but a Pretender to Learning, without any ſound ſhare of it; that the Knowledge you are maſter of, is ſupplied from Scraps and marginal Citations, without any thorough acquaintance with Antiquity, or the Authors you refer to? and as oft therefore as you are engaged to treat a queſtion to the bottom, like a Man fighting in the dark, inſtead of beating your Adverſary, will oftner be found beating the Air and bruiſing your own Knuckles againſt Poſts or Walls? of which we ſhall ſee many an inſtance before I've done with you.

[a] Reply, p. 15, &c.

For

For ſuppoſe that I had allowed the very thing that you contend for; that the *Prieſts onely were circumciſed in Ægypt*; how would my Argument have been ſpoiled by it? Was it impoſſible for *Moſes*, who was bred up among thoſe very *Prieſts*, and inſtructed in *all their Learning*, to have copied *Circumciſion* from them, and yet extend it further afterwards by impoſing it on the People too? but not to dwell on Hypotheſis, let us enquire into the Fact.

The Authors I have quoted, the oldeſt, who give any account of *Circumciſion* [*a*], *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, mention it always as a cuſtom common to the whole Nation, without giving the leaſt hint or reaſon to believe that it was confin'd to *Prieſts* alone. *Agatharcides*, as quoted by *Photius*, ſays expreſly that *all the Ægyptians were circumciſed* [*b*]: and *Suidas* hints the ſame in the word ψῶλος. *Strabo* indeed adds, what is confirmed likewiſe by other Writers, that the *Women were alſo circumciſed* [*c*]: which fully confutes your Notion, and ſhews the Practice to have been general.

A queſtion indeed may ariſe about the obligation to it; whether it was of abſolute neceſſity

[*a*] Jerem. ix. 25. neque Ægyptiis utilis eſt, &c. Juſt. Mart. Dial. 192.

[*b*] Photii Biblioth. p. 1358. ex Agatharcide, c. 30.

[*c*] L. 17.

or

or not to all; and there may poſſibly have been ſome diſtinction between *Prieſts* and *People* on this account: but that it was commonly and generally practiſed by all, can admit of no doubt from the concurrent Teſtimony of all Authors: and 'tis certain that as all the *Jews* would receive none to the *Paſſover*, but the *circumciſed*; ſo the *Ægyptians* admitted none elſe to their *religious Myſteries* [*a*]; ſo that *Pythagoras* was forced to be *circumciſed*, to procure admittance to their recondite and *ſymbolical Learning:* whence 'tis probable, that it was conſidered as a kind of *religious Teſt*, which the Prieſts and all who expected any benefit from Religion or Office in the State were obliged more peculiarly to comply with.

The next point is, whether *Joſephus* underſtood *Herodotus* to mean that *Circumciſion was peculiar to the Prieſts.* And if it be true in fact, as is ſhewn above, that it was not *confined to Prieſts*, and that *Herodotus* has given no ground for ſuch a diſtinction; your notion muſt fall of itſelf. *Joſephus* indeed, in the place referred to, may be underſtood of a peculiar obligation or abſolute neceſſity which the *Prieſts* were under to be *circumciſed* above all other Men; but on another occaſion, where he appeals to *Herodotus*, for affirming the *Ægyptians to be the Authors of Circumciſion to all other*

[*a*] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 354. c. 15. Edit. Potter. Vid. it. Cotelerii Not. in Barnab. Epiſt. c. 9.

People,

People, and even to the Jews, he makes no other reflection upon it, than that of *ſuch things every one may ſay what he thinks fit* [*a*]. A modern Author, of more zeal than judgment, ſays on the occaſion; *Joſephus has taken notice of the words of Herodotus, but I could have wiſhed, that he had called him to account for them, and not paſſed them over ſo coldly—This did not become Joſephus, on other occaſions ſo ſtout an Advocate of the Honour of his Nation* [*b*].

Again, You ſay, the *Ægyptians* did not uſe *Circumciſion*, for the ſake of *Cleanlineſs*, as I render the word καθαριότητος, but of *Purity:* an Obſervation wholly groundleſs; it being certain, that the main intent of the cuſtom was, not to make them more *holy or pure*, but more *ſweet and clean*; in order to prevent ſome bodily diſtemper or inconvenience frequent in thoſe warm Climates; which is alledged by Writers as the cauſe and natural reaſon of the ſame practice in all the neighbouring countries [*c*]. But beſides; the Paſſage itſelf, as it ſtands,

[*a*] Περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕκαστοι λεγέτωσαν ὅτι ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ. Antiq. l. 8. c. x. §. 3.

[*b*] De Repub. Hebræor. l. 2. c. 4. p. 70.

[*c*] Ægyptii, Æthiopes, aliique ex oriente populi rationes regioni vel religioni ſuæ proprias habuerunt, quibus diu ante tempora Abrahami ad virilium pelliculas præcidendas inducti cenſeantur. Nam Philo & alii circumciſionem inter gentes aliquas conſilio primùm introductam putant,

ſtands in *Herodotus*, can ſuggeſt no other notion; and all others, who have ever quoted it, have taken it in the ſame ſenſe that I do; for 'tis ranked in company with ſuch Cuſtoms as relate ſolely to *external Neatneſs* or *Cleanlineſs* [*a*]; viz. the *waſhing themſelves twice each day, and as oft each night in cold water; the conſtant waſhing their Cups; their Veſtments; and the ſhaving their Bodies to keep them clear of Lice and other Vermin*, &c.

But you ſtill blunder on and tell us, that the notion of the *Ægyptians* was juſt the ſame with that of the *Jews*, amongſt whom it was conſidered as an *Emblem of Purity* [*b*]: in which you ſhew as little acquaintance with *Scriptural or Jewiſh Hiſtory*, as you do with the *Ægyptian:* For 'tis clear from Scripture that Circumciſion was not given for the ſake of *Purity*, but as a *Sign and Seal of a Covenant* between God and his People; as an *outward Mark* to diſtinguiſh thoſe who were under that Covenant, from all other Nations whatſoever. This is the account we have of its Inſtitution as well from *Scripture* as the *Primitive Fathers*. *You ſhall circumciſe*, ſays *God to Abraham, the fleſh*

putant, ad præcavendam ſcilicet lepram aut carbunculum, e ſordibus ſub præputio latentibus oriri ſolitum, &c. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. 1. c. 5. §. 4. p. 58.

[*a*] Vid. Herod. l. 2. 37.

[*b*] Reply, p. 16.

of

of your foreſkin, and it ſhall be a token of the Covenant between me and you [*a*]

Abraham, ſays *Juſtin Martyr*, *received Circumciſion as a Mark or Sign, and not as of any efficacy towards Righteouſneſs or Holineſs as both Scripture and Fact itſelf oblige us to allow* [*b*]. And *Irenæus*, *That God gave it not as of any ſervice to Juſtice or Righteouſneſs, but for a Mark to diſtinguiſh Abraham's Poſterity* [*c*]. The Reader will make a proper Reflection on a Criticiſm grounded in meer miſtake both of *Jewiſh* and *Ægyptian Antiquity*.

But the Sting is, that *I think with the Author of Chriſtianity as old* &c. which is ſo far from being a Reproach whenever he thinks right, as he certainly does in ſome things; that it would be much more for your credit to do ſo too, than to ſpend your time and pains in maintaining *vulgar Errors and pious Prejudices* againſt plain Fact and Hiſtory: but if you would do me right, you ſhould repreſent me, as thinking with *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Philo*, *Joſephus*, *Photius*, *Sir Jo. Marſham*, *Dr. Spencer*, and even *Calmet* too, whom you recommend to my peruſal; who, tho' he labours like yourſelf to ſupport the common Hypotheſis

[*a*] Gen. xvii. 11.

[*b*] Dialog. cum Tryph. Par. 1. p. 184. Edit. Thurlb.

[*c*] Quoniam autem circumciſionem non quaſi conſummatricem juſtitiæ, ſed in ſigno eam dedit Deus, ut cognoſcibile perſeveret genus Abrahæ, &c. Adv. Hær. l. 4. c. 30.

againſt

againſt Fact and Teſtimony, yet is ſo fair at the ſame time as to allow a *great colour of Reaſon*, a *great ground of Probability* to thoſe who aſſert the contrary opinion, which is all that I have ever declared for.

We are now arrived at what you call my *Maſterpiece of Quotation*, viz. a paſſage of *Joſephus* referred to in *my Letter*, in which *I make him give up*, as you ſay, *the Divine Miſſion of his own Legiſlator Moſes* [*a*]. Here indeed you ſeem greatly moved, and employ all your Rhetorick to move me too; calling upon me in the moſt ſolemn manner *for the ſake of ſincerity to retract my raſh aſſertion, and to conſider the whole Quotation over again*, in which *there's nothing*, you ſay, *that even ſeems to deny the Divine Origin of the Law and the Divine Inſpiration of its Founder, but what ariſes from my Miſrepreſentation; that ſuch a thought was as far from Joſephus, as attention or ſincerity was from me* [*b*].

I am come therefore, Sir, in obedience to your call, to review the whole Paſſage, and to conſider very ſeriouſly and attentively not *the Tranſlation*, as you abſurdly call it, but *the ſhort Abſtract* I had given of the ſenſe of the place in a manner agreeable to the form of *a Letter*, in which an exact or verbal Tranſlation muſt needs have appeared ſtiff and aukward: and upon a moſt careful Examination both of the Original and my Account of it, I am ſo

[*a*] Reply, p. 16. [*b*] Reply, p. 21, 22.

far from being ſenſible that I have miſrepreſented my Author, that I am the more clearly and perfectly convinced that I had before given his true Sentiments; and that *Joſephus* in the place referred to does not inſiſt on any *ſupernatural or divine Authority* of *Moſes*, but aſcribes all the great things done by him to his own *perſonal ſkill and management*, putting him on the ſame foot with *Minos and the other old Lawgivers of Greece*; and giving him the preference onely on the compariſon for *the ſuperiour Excellency of his Laws*. This, Sir, I will maintain againſt you or any man elſe to be the Senſe of the Paſſage in queſtion; and if I fail to make it good, deſire at leaſt, that it may not be imputed to any inſincerity, but incapacity and mere ignorance of the *Greek Tongue*; ſince with all the Skill I am maſter of, I can draw out of it no other meaning but what I am going to explain: and I don't queſtion but to convince every ſenſible Reader, that 'tis not I, who would warp and force the Words of *Joſephus* to any meaning different from their own, but you; who being firſt warp'd yourſelf with prejudice, and prepoſſeſſed with Syſtems, which you hold ſacred and inviolable, cannot reliſh any Truth, but what you can bend and accommodate to thoſe previous Notions: But in order to ſet this Queſtion in a clear light, it will be neceſſary to inſert the entire Paragraph; where I hope the Reader will excuſe the tediouſneſs of a Tranſlation, which I am forced by your

your Cavils to preſent him with, deſiring onely, as 'tis a matter of ſome Importance, that he will give it a candid and impartial Attention. The whole Paſſage then runs thus.

Let us conſider then in the firſt place the Greatneſs of Moſes's Actions. He having gathered together our Anceſtors, after they had reſolved to leave Ægypt and return to their native Country, into a mighty Body, brought them with ſafety thro' many and almoſt inſuperable difficulties. For it was neceſſary for them to march thro' a Country without Water, and wide tracts of Sand; and all the while to fight their way thro' their Enemies, with their Children, Wives and Baggage to take care of. In all which Circumſtances he approved himſelf a moſt excellent General, a moſt wiſe Counſellor, a moſt true and careful Guardian of them all. He brought the whole Multitude to depend wholly on himſelf; and tho' he had them entirely obedient in every thing to his Command, he turn'd all this to no particular profit or advantage of his own; and in that very opportunity, which other Governors chiefly make uſe of, to eſtabliſh themſelves in Power and Tyranny, and with that view indulge the People in a looſe diſorderly way of Life: He on the contrary, in this height of Authority, thought himſelf bound to live religiouſly and piouſly and ſhew great Benevolence to the People; thinking by that means the moſt effectually to demonſtrate his own Virtue, and provide in the beſt manner for the ſecurity of thoſe, who had choſen him their Leader. His Intentions then being

ing ſo laudable and his Actions ſo great, he juſtly believed that he had the Deity for his Guide and Counſellor: and having firſt perſuaded himſelf, that all he was doing or contriving was agreeable to the Will of God, he thought it neceſſary above all things to inſtil the ſame notion into the People: ſince thoſe, who are perſuaded, that God overlooks their Life and Conduct, will not venture on any thing illegal or ſinful: Such an one was our Legiſlator not a Sorcerer or Impoſtor, as ſome unjuſtly aſperſe him, but ſuch an one, as they boaſt Minos to have been among the Greeks, and the other Lawgivers after him: for ſome of them imputed their Laws to—but Minos aſcrib'd his to Apollo and his Delphic Oracle, either really believing ſo themſelves, or fancying by that means to make the People ſubmit to them the more eaſily. But which of them (Moſes or the others) has drawn up the beſt Body of Laws, and which had beſt pretence to be perſuaded of God's Aſſiſtance (or otherwiſe, which of them has hit upon the beſt and juſteſt Notions of a God) may be decided by comparing the Laws themſelves; of which 'tis now time to give ſome Account: There are then throughout the World infinite differences of particular Cuſtoms and Laws, which yet we may reduce to theſe general Heads. Some have thrown the form of their publick Affairs into a Monarchy; others into the power of a few or an Oligarchy; others into the Multitude or a Democracy: but our Lawgiver had no regard to any of theſe; but, if a Man may uſe an expreſſion ſo forc'd, made the form of Government he inſtituted, a Theocracy [a].

[a] Cont. Ap. l. 2. c. 16.

This, Sir, is a faithful Tranſlation of the whole Paſſage in the cleareſt manner I am able to render it; and to ſhew the inſignificancy of your Cavils, I have in all thoſe places where you find fault with me, given the very turn and force to the expreſſion which you require: and yet there is not in the whole Paragraph one word in favour of the *divine Miſſion*, or *Inſpiration of Moſes*, in that ſenſe of it, in which 'tis vulgarly received; but on the contrary, all the Glory of his great Actions, as well as of his Laws, are aſcribed to *his own Virtue, Skill and Addreſs*. In the firſt Part, which contains a ſhort Abſtract or general Character of his Actions, we find not the leaſt hint of any *Miracle* or the *immediate Interpoſition* of God; we are not told, how the People muſt have been cut in pieces, when overtaken by *Pharoah at the Red Sea*; had not God miraculouſly opened a Paſſage for them thro' the midſt of it: how they muſt have periſhed for want of Water; had not God for their Refreſhment made it *to flow out of a Rock:* how they muſt have ſtarved for want of Food in the Deſert; had not God in a wonderful manner *ſent it down to them from Heaven:* but the ſaving of them thro' all theſe Difficulties, thro' *want of Water, want of Food*, is here ſolely imputed to the Care and Conduct of *Moſes*, and wholly turned to his particular Praiſe; till we come to the place you chiefly inſiſt on; viz. that *Moſes with ſuch laudable De-*

ſigns

ſigns and ſuch great Actions reaſonably believed that he had God for his Guide and Counſellor. And what is there in this to ſupport the Notion of ſuch *a particular Inſpiration*, as is commonly aſcribed to *Moſes?* What is there in this Perſuaſion of his, but what every good Man in the ſame Situation, muſt needs be perſuaded of too? A Magiſtrate convinced of the Being of a God and a Providence, and conſcious, that every purpoſe of his Heart intends the Honour of that God, and the Good of the People he governs, cannot help believing himſelf to be under the ſpecial care of the Deity. This flows from the very reaſon and nature of things, and can never be otherwiſe: God, as ſurely as he exiſts, muſt neceſſarily favour ſuch a Man, and every ſuch Man muſt as neceſſarily be convinced that God does ſo favour him. And this is all that *Joſephus* can mean; ſince he grounds the Perſuaſion *Moſes* had of being under the *particular Guidance of God*, not on any facts of *ſpecial Revelation* or *divine Inſpiration*, but *on the conſciouſneſs of his own upright Intentions*, backed by the great ſucceſs of his Actions. And ſuch a Perſuaſion will always have more or leſs influence on the Mind, as it falls in with a Conſtitution more or leſs inclined to *Superſtition* or *Enthuſiaſm*, (the peculiar Character of the *Jewiſh Nation*) which is apt to impute every laudable Thought, and every ſucceſsful Action to the ſpecial Suggeſtion and Aſſiſtance of Heaven. And we ſee from what follows, that *Joſephus* thought it poſſible for Lawgivers to be poſſeſſed

of ſuch a belief, without any good ground for it; ſince he makes it a queſtion, whether the *Grecian Legiſlators were really perſuaded, like Moſes*, or onely pretended to be ſo, of *the immediate Aſſiſtance of Heaven*; but whether they were or were not, 'tis certain however at leaſt, that they could have no *real Inſpiration.*

But the Senſe I contended for is yet more clearly demonſtrated by what follows: *That Moſes having firſt perſuaded himſelf that every thing he was doing was agreeable to the Will of God, thought it neceſſary above all things to inſtil the ſame Notion into the People*; becauſe ſuch a Notion inſtilled would naturally engage them to be better Men and better Subjects. Now if all is to be taken literally, juſt as 'tis repreſented in the Sacred Scriptures, what occaſion could there be for any ſuch care or thought of *Moſes* about *propagating this Notion among the People?* The thing muſt have been done to his hands without any contrivance of his at all: the Miracles he daily wrought muſt neceſſarily convince the People of it: who could not ſee *the Glory of God deſcending and talking with him* ſo oft in the midſt of them, without knowing that *every thing he did was agreeable to the Divine Will.* As *Joſephus* therefore in this place imputes the *inſtilling this Notion* into the People to the *Skill and Addreſs of Moſes*, he could not intend to perſuade us that this was done by the help of *real Miracles*; for they leave no room for any ſuch Management or Addreſs, but do the buſi-

neſs of themſelves without it; but by *pretending to Miracles* where there really were none, and *deceiving the People* by a ſhew of ſomething like them into an opinion that they were actually done. This is the Method, that all other *Lawgivers* in the World have ever taken, as oft as they have wanted or *thought it neceſſary to inſtil the ſame notion into the People*; and 'tis indeed the onely Method it can be done by, ſince if any one had the *actual power of Miracles*, he could have no occaſion to project or think at all about it; the thing muſt neceſſarily follow of courſe; and by a conſtant ſeries of miraculous Events, the Notion obtain of itſelf among the People.

But to obviate all offence, which I have no intention to give, I muſt beg the Reader to remember always and take along with him, that I am not declaring here any Sentiments of my own, or examining what was the true Fact and real Caſe of *Moſes*; but what *Joſephus*, from the Paſſage we are now conſidering, muſt neceſſarily either think himſelf, or deſire that others ſhould think of it, which will be more clearly explained ſtill by what follows.

Such an one, ſays he, *was our Legiſlator, not a Sorcerer*; that is, not one, who did the Miracles he pretended to by any magical Art or infernal Power: *nor an Impoſtor*; who uſed the pretence of Miracles to cheat and deceive for

his own Gain or Advantage; but *juſt ſuch an one as the Greeks boaſt their Minos, and other Lawgivers to have been, who aſcribed the invention of their own Laws to the Gods:* And here you lay, I find, a great Streſs on the Word *boaſt*, ἀυχῶσι, as if it gave a contrary turn to the Senſe, from what I have repreſented, and carried in it the Notion of Falſhood and Lying; and that *Joſephus* intended to ſignify, *that Moſes really was, what they boaſted onely*, or *falſely pretended their Lawgivers to be* [*a*]: A Diſtinction childiſh and ridiculous! ſince 'tis certain both from the uſe of Language and common Senſe, that the word *boaſt* or *brag of*, as 'tis applied here to Men famous and excellent in their Generations, can have no other Signification than to *be proud of*, or *celebrate with Praiſe*; and the full Import of the Sentence is, that *Moſes was ſuch an one as Minos, and the other Legiſlators, whom the Greeks are ſo proud*, or *make ſuch a boaſting of.*

And, pray Sir, after all, what is it that the *Greeks boaſt ſo much of* in theſe very Men? Is it that they were *really inſpired* by the Gods in the Contrivance of their Laws? No, there was hardly a *Greek* of Senſe, who ever believed it; or had their Laws been dictated by the *Delphic Oracle*, would have believed it the more for that; as I could eaſily ſhew from Antiquity:

[*a*] Reply, p. 21.

All

All that they boaſted and admired ſo much in them, was, that after they had contrived an excellent Body of Laws, they had the Addreſs to perſuade the People, that *thoſe Laws were dictated by the Gods*; that under the Influence of ſuch a Perſuaſion they might ſubmit to them the more willingly. Do not the *Roman Writers* boaſt highly of their *Numa*, as of an excellent Prince and wiſe Lawgiver; and for Proof of his Wiſdom do not they tell us the Contrivances he uſed to inſtil the Notion into the People, that his *religious Inſtitutions were ſuggeſted by the Gods?* But they were not ſo ſilly as to believe the Fact itſelf to be true: that he *really was inſpired by a Goddeſs*, or received the *Ancile or holy Shield from Heaven:* Theſe things they celebrate as the Inſtances of his Skill and Policy, in order to procure the greater Reverence to his Laws: And ſuch an one *Joſephus* in this Place deſcribes *Moſes* to have been: Juſt as *Diodorus Siculus* had done before him; whoſe Words, as they are very much to our preſent Purpoſe, I cannot forbear inſerting: *The ſame kind of Fiction*, ſays he, *is ſaid to have been uſed in many other Nations, and to have been the occaſion of much good to thoſe who believed it. Among the Arimaſpi, Zathrauſtis pretended to have received his Laws from a good Spirit or Genius; among the Getæ, Zamolxis from the Goddeſs Veſta; among the Jews, Moſes from the God called, Iao: Whether imagining that every Invention or Thought beneficial to Mankind was really wonderful and*

divine, or that the Multitude out of regard to the Excellence and Power of the ſuppoſed Authors of their Laws would be the more readily induced to obey them [a].

But in the next Words, *Joſephus*, you ſay, *puts a wide difference between the Jewiſh and all other Lawgivers:* And ſo I own he does, by affirming *Moſes's Laws to be much better than theirs*; which he proceeds to demonſtrate by a Compariſon of the Particulars: and from this ſuperior Excellency of his Laws he infers a ſuperior Right to propagate *the Notion of their coming from God:* ſo that his Argument runs thus: *Moſes was no Magician or Impoſtor; but a wiſe and excellent Man, juſt ſuch an one as Minos and the other Lawgivers of Greece; theſe imputed their Laws to the Gods, as Moſes had done before them; but Moſes had a much better right to do ſo than they, becauſe his Laws are much better than theirs.* Every one will ſee the force of this Reaſoning; for whoever is conſcious to himſelf, that he has formed the beſt Body of Laws, has certainly the beſt pretence either himſelf to imagine, that he had the *Aſſiſtance of God in them*; or to deceive the People with the Notion of his being ſo aſſiſted: for as the ſole end of ſuch Deceit is the *Good of the People*, he muſt needs have the beſt Title to make uſe of it, who had the *greateſt Good* to propoſe.

[a] Biblioth. Hiſt. l. 1. p. 84. Edit. Laur. Rhodom.

But

But the laſt Article of *this Maſter-piece of Quotation* is ſtill the ſtrongeſt towards clinching the whole, to the Senſe I have been eſtabliſhing: for 'tis ſaid, we ſee, that *Moſes in projecting a frame of Government for his People, had no regard to any other kind then ſubſiſting in the World, whether Monarchy, Oligarchy, or Democracy, but made his Government a Theocracy:* Now this is a ſhort Explication of all that went before: for how is it in the power of any Mortal to make a *Theocracy?* Is it poſſible for a Prince or State, by calling upon or devoting themſelves to God, to engage him to take upon himſelf the *abſolute, immediate,* and as it were *perſonal Direction* of their particular Affairs? Yet this, we ſee, is aſcribed to *Moſes*, that he *made a Theocracy*, which, as far as it was his pure Act and Deed, as 'tis here deſcribed, can bear no other Senſe, than that he managed matters ſo, as to perſuade the People that every thing ordered or effected by publick Authority, was done by the *immediate Appointment and Direction of God.* This muſt needs have been *Joſephus's Notion of the Jewiſh Theocracy*, as far as we can collect it from his Words; let's apply it then to a particular Inſtance.

Moſes was to build a *Tabernacle* or Houſe of publick Worſhip for the People: What was then to be done? Why, if as in other Countries he had been a *Monarch*, he would have called for

for his Workmen, pitched upon a Plan and ordered the Work to be executed: or had he been the Preſiding Magiſtrate in a Commonwealth, would have done the ſame thing with the Conſent and Authority of the People: But he had made his Government a *Theocracy*; and 'twas *God* therefore who muſt name the Workmen: and *God*, we read, accordingly pitched upon *Two*, the moſt famed, we may imagine, for their ſkill in Building and all kinds of Workmanſhip [*a*]: For as *Joſephus* ſays of this very Fact; *God choſe the very ſame Perſons, which the People would have done, had the Choice been left to them* [*b*]. What then do the Workmen do? Why in any other State, under the Inſpection of the Magiſtrate, they would have formed a Model of their Work, and contrived the Patterns of all its Veſſels and Furniture; but as this was a *Theocracy*, they durſt project nothing of themſelves, durſt not venture on making even a *Table* or *Candleſtick*, but by the *immediate Order of God*, and a *Pattern given from Heaven*.

This was the *Theocracy* that *Moſes* contrived; where you, Sir, may believe if you pleaſe, that with all his Wiſdom he was not able to direct the building a Chapel; nor the beſt Workmen in his Camp to make a *Candleſtick and Snuffers*

[*a*] Exod. xxxi. 2, 6. it. xxxvi. 1.

[*b*] Ὃυς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἂν ἐπελέξατο, τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένης. Antiq. l. 3. c. 6.

but by *divine Inſpiration*, and after a *Model given by God:* But you muſt not expect to perſuade us, that *Joſephus* believed ſo too: ſince the contrary is very evident; and that he had a mind at leaſt to leave a liberty and latitude in explaining the manner of this *Theocracy*.

Upon the whole; had you known how to expound a Paragraph rationally, by conſidering the general Senſe of the whole, and then connecting one part with the other; you might have ſaved me much Trouble and yourſelf the Shame of expoſing your want of Judgment by ſuch ſenſeleſs Cavils: and inſtead of this Outcry againſt me, muſt have praiſed rather the Temper and Modeſty of the Inference I draw, in recommending onely *more moderate and qualified Sentiments of the divine Inſpiration of Moſes*, than what are vulgarly received: for according even to your own Interpretation, does not *Joſephus*, in the Paſſage juſt recited, uſe much more Reſerve and Caution in aſſerting the *marvellous and ſupernatural* part of *Moſes's Character*, than what his *literal Hiſtory* does? And if ſo; the Inference is certainly juſt, that it might be a hint to us, to uſe the ſame *Reſerve and Moderation* too in thinking and ſpeaking on the ſame Subject.

But you ſay, *that Joſephus in this place was as far from the thought of any ſuch Inference as I make, as Attention or Sincerity was from me when I read it; and if ever I had read his Jewiſh Antiquities, I muſt know that he never repreſents the*

the Law but as given to the Jews by God himſelf, thro' the hand of Moſes [*a*]. I have read his *Jewiſh Antiquities*; and from that very reading have collected the contrary; that his real Sentiments of the *divine Inſpiration of Moſes* were very little different from what is repreſented above. For tho' he undertakes in that Work to deduce and connect a *perpetual Hiſtory of the Jews* from the beginning of the World, as 'tis found in *the ſacred Records of the Old Teſtament*; yet he takes ſuch liberty with many of the facts there recorded, by *ſuppreſſing* ſome, *altering and accommodating* others to the ordinary Taſte and common Senſe of Mankind, as he neither could or durſt have done, had he believed them to have been *really and ſtrictly effected by God* in the very manner as the *literal Text* imports: to give one Inſtance out of many.

After his account *of the Paſſage of the Iſraelites thro' the Red Sea*, he ſubjoins this Reflection: *I have given every particular of this Story juſt as I found it in the Sacred Books: but let no Man be ſurpized at the ſtrangeneſs of it, that ſuch an ancient and innocent People ſhould find a way opened for their eſcape thro' the Sea, either by the ſpecial Will and Interpoſition of God, or the accidental Concurrence of Natural Cauſes. Since in a like caſe as it were of yeſterday the Pamphylian Sea retired before Alexander of Macedon, and open-*

[*a*] Reply, p. 22.

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ed him a Paſſage, where there was no other way for him, when God had a mind to put an end to the Perſian *Empire. And this is affirmed by all who have written of his Actions. But for theſe things, let every Man take them in what Senſe he beſt likes* [*a*].

Now 'tis impoſſible that he could have left it in doubt, whether this Fact had any thing *miraculous* in it or not, had he entertained any firm and certain belief of the *abſolute and univerſal Inſpiration of the ſacred Writings*, which repreſent it as one of the moſt *ſignal and illuſtrious Miracles* that *God* ever wrought by the hand of *Moſes*.

To the Authority of *Joſephus* I ſhall juſt add that of *Philo*; whoſe Words, as quoted by *Euſebius*, may be render'd thus: *As for the Man, whoever he was, who gave them their Laws, they had him in ſo great Admiration, that whatſoever he approved, they approved too. Whatever therefore he dictated to them, whether he had contrived and invented it himſelf, or had received it from the Deity, they imputed it all to God* [*b*].

I ſhall

[*a*]—Εἴτε κατὰ βούλησιν θεῦ εἴτε κατ' αὐτόματον, &c.—περὶ μὲν τούτου ὡς ἑκάστῳ δοκεῖ διαλαμβανέτω. Antiq. lib. 2. c. 16. Ed. Hudſon.

[*b*] Αλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον ὃς τίς ποτε ἦν ὁ τὺς νόμυς καὶ αὐτοῖς θεὶς, οὕτω σφόδρα ἐθαύμασαν, ὡς ὅτι δήποτε ἔδοξεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς· εἴτε ἂν λελογισμέν-

I ſhall make no Reflection on this Paſſage, but leave it to the Reader to conſider, whether it is not more reaſonable, with theſe *primitive and judicious Apologiſts of the Jewiſh Religion*, to allow ſome liberty of thinking, as to the *Divinity of their ſacred Books*, than with our modern Zealots to calumniate and perſecute for ever all who differ from them in Opinion about Queſtions of ſuch Difficulty and Uncertainty; yet no ſooner does a Man enquire with Freedom into the true State of any *Scriptural Fact*, but the *Alarm Bell* is ſounded, and the Clergy admoniſhed of a dangerous Attempt againſt the *Authority of Moſes*. But conſider, Sir, that the effectual way of ruining a Fabrick, is to charge it with a greater Load than it was made to bear; and the ſureſt Method of weakening any thing is not by reſtraining it within its due Bounds, but by forcing and ſtretching it beyond what Nature and Reaſon deſigned it for. Now becauſe this is a Queſtion of great Nicety and Importance, which you ſeem not much acquainted with, it may be worth while to open it a little further, and add a Word or two more before I diſmiſs it.

'Tis the common Notion of all the *Greek Fathers*, that the divine *Plato* had greatly ſtu-

ασμένος αὐτὸς, ὅτι ἀκούων παρὰ δαίμονος ἔφασεν τοῦτο ἅπαν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀνάγειν. Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. l. 8. ex Philone de exitu ab Ægypto.

died

died the *Books of Moſes*, and made much uſe of them in his own: So that *Clemens of Alexandria* and others call him the *Attick Moſes* [*a*]: and both *Clemens* and *Euſebius* take much pains in pointing out the particular Notions and Sentiments which he had borrowed from *Moſes* [*b*]. As we have ſeen then already from ſuch Paſſages above what is delivered of the Character and Abilities of the firſt *Moſes*; ſo let us ſee likewiſe what this *Attick Moſes* ſays of the proper Qualifications and Perfections of *ſuch a Lawgiver*. Why he ſays, *that he ought to conſider and contrive nothing elſe ſo much, as to inſtil ſuch Notions into the People as are likely to do them the greateſt good* [*c*]. And this is exactly agreeable to the Character of *Moſes*, as 'tis given almoſt in the very Words of *Plato* by the *Jewiſh Writers* as well as *Primitive Fathers*. But in order to execute his good Intentions towards the People, *the Magiſtrate or Legiſlator will often find it neceſſary*, according to *Plato*, *for the good of his Subjects, to invent certain Fables, Fictions, or political Lies, to be propagated among them, as Medicine or Phyſick to ob-*

[*a*] Νουμήνιος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, ἀντιχρὺς γράφει, τί ἐστὶ Πλάτων, ἢ Μωσῆς ἀτθιζίζων. Strom. l. 1. c. 22. Edit. Potter.

[*b*] Vide Clemen. Alex. ibid. c. xxv. &c. It. Præpar. Evang. Euſeb. l. 12. &c.

[*c*] Ὥστε ἰδεῖν ἄλλο αὐτὸν δεῖ σκοπεῦντα ἀνευρίσκειν, ἢ τὶ πείσας μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσαιτο ἂν πόλιν. De Leg. 2. p. 664.

viate

viate and cure ill Principles, as well as to infuſe good ones: and above all, *to influence the Minds of the younger Sort ſo, as to make them ſubmit willingly and chearfully to the Laws preſcribed.* And to ſhew how readily the Multitude may be drawn into the Belief of any thing propoſed by an artful Governor, he inſtances in the *Fable of the Dragon's Teeth ſown in the Ground, from each of which an armed Man immediately ſprang up*; which, as abſurd as it is, was yet once, he ſays, *ſwallowed for true by the People* [*a*].

Now the chief End propoſed by *Plato* for the Invention of theſe *Fables* or *Lies*, is to keep the People the more religiouſly attached to an exact Obſervance of their Laws, and Obedience to their Governors. And this is what *Joſephus* every where inſiſts on, as the *peculiar Praiſe and Character of Moſes* above all other Law-givers in the World: that he had his People from their very Childhood trained to *the moſt inviolable Devotion to his Laws, and the moſt profound Reverence for his Perſon* [*b*]. Now ſhould I take the liberty to ſay, that *Plato*'s Notion of the uſe and neceſſity of *Publick Fables* or *Lies*, was borrowed from the *Moſaic Writings*, and ſuggeſted by what he had obſerved in the *Practice and Example of Moſes*,

[*a*] Vide Plat. de Repub. l. 3. p. 414. et alibi. it. de legib. l. 2. p. 663.

[*b*] Vid. Antiq. l. 3. c. 15. Sect. 3. It. con. Ap. l. 2.

what

what an Outcry would the ſhallow Bigots make of *weakening his Authority*, and *favouring Infidelity?* Yet *Clemens of Alexandria* and *Euſebius*, I find, ſay much the ſame thing, and make this Reaſoning and theſe very Sentiments of *Plato* a clear Proof of his Acquaintance with the *Moſaic Hiſtory*.

Clemens ſpeaking of the *Art of Governing*, tells us among other things, that the *ends of Government are to be ſerved by perſuading, or forcing, or injuring—or doing what is juſt, or lying, or telling Truth, as different Circumſtances require; Examples of all which*, ſays he, *and how to uſe each of them properly, the* Greeks *to their great Advantage have borrowed from* Moſes [*a*].

Euſebius after having explained *Plato*'s Opinion about the Neceſſity of contriving *proper Fables and Fictions* for the Good of the People, declares the Caſe to have been juſt the ſame with the *Jews*, and that in *the Books of* Moſes *there are infinite Examples of this kind of Fictions contrived for the Benefit of the Multitude* [*b*].

But is the Notion then, you'll ſay, of the *Divine Origin of the Law and Inſpiration of Moſes* to be reſolved into *Fiction* and *Fable* or

[*a*] Strom. 1. p. 417. Edit. Potter.
[*b*] Præp. Evangel. p. 356. Edit. R. Steph.

Political Lying? No; far be it from me to think or ſay that: But this perhaps one may venture to ſay; that the Suppoſition of ſome degree of *ſuch Fiction* may poſſibly be found neceſſary to the ſolving the Difficulties of the *Moſaic Writings*, without any hurt to their Authority, or advantage to Infidelity; ſince the beſt and moſt zealous Apologiſts of the *Jewiſh Religion* have not ſcrupled, we ſee, to allow it on ſome occaſions; eſpecially when it was their buſineſs to explain and propoſe it to Strangers; not with any deſign to *weaken*, but to *ſtrengthen* it the more effectually in the good Opinion of the World; by ſhewing its *Founder Moſes* to have been the ſame kind of Man with thoſe other *Legiſlators* and *Founders of States*, for whom the politeſt Nations have always had the utmoſt Honour and Veneration. For *there's nothing diſhonourable*, ſays *Plutarch*, *in the common Story of Lycurgus, Numa, and other ſuch Lawgivers; that having great Innovations to make in the State, and a perverſe and obſtinate People to deal with, they invented the Fiction of a divine Miſſion or Revelation, ſalutary and beneficial to thoſe for whoſe ſake they contrived it* [*a*].

But to return into the way from whence we have digreſſed. You go on to expoſe *my manner of miſquoting*, as you call it [*b*], in ſome Paſ-

[*a*] Plut. Numa, p. 62. Edit. Pariſ.
[*b*] Reply, p. 22.

ſages

ſages I had produced from *Herodotus*; and affirm, that I have *partially quoted him on purpoſe to deceive my Reader no leſs than five times in about twice the number of lines* [*a*]. Let us examine the Truth of this ſolemn and heavy Accuſation.

Firſt then, I quote *Herodotus* for ſaying, that *the Ægyptians were governed by Laws and Cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves and different from thoſe of other Nations.* This, you own, is *Truth, but not the whole Truth*; for *Herodotus ſays, that their Laws were different from thoſe of all other Nations. But I judged it neceſſary*, it ſeems, *to drop the word all, leſt the Reader ſhould perceive the Abſurdity of attempting to ſhew from this Place that the Jews agreed with them in their Cuſtoms* [*b*]. Sure no Cavil was ever ſo trifling: For is not the Word *all* of neceſſity implied and underſtood in the very Senſe I have given? If the *Ægyptian Laws* were, as I ſay, *peculiar* to themſelves, does not that *Peculiarity* infer a Difference from *all* other Nations? But ſuppoſe the Word *all* not implied onely, but actually inſerted; how does it ſhew any Abſurdity in my Reaſoning, or at all affect it? My Argument previouſly ſuppoſes ſome Reſemblance of Cuſtoms between the *Jews* and *Ægyptians*, grounded on the long Reſidence of the *Jews* in *Ægypt*; where for above two hun-

[*a*] Reply, p. 27, 28. [*b*] Ibid. p. 23.

dred Years they are ſuppoſed to have *complied with the Cuſtoms*, and *conformed even to the Religion of the Country* [*a*]: As the Turn then and Genius of the *Ægyptians* diſpoſed them to affect *a Peculiarity in their Laws*, and *a difference of Manners* from *all* other Nations; ſo the *Jews* alſo, among whom we find *the ſame Diſpoſition and Affectation of Peculiarity*, may well be ſuppoſed to have derived this Humour from *Ægypt*. So that your Criticiſm is grounded meerly in your own Miſtake of the very Argument you pretend to criticiſe.

Secondly, I ſay on the Authority of *Herodotus, that the Ægyptians were more addicted to Prodigies and Miracles than any other People*: And here you tell me, that *I once more deceive my Reader, even at the expence of a falſe Quotation, ſince in the place referred to, Herodotus ſpeaks not a word of Miracles, but of Prodigies onely* [*b*]. As if a *Superſtitious Regard to Prodigies* did not imply an *equal Regard to Miracles*; and thoſe who are ſo fond of the one, were not of neceſſity as much addicted to the other; as it might eaſily be proved of the *Ægyptians* in particular by many other Authorities, if this before us was not ſufficient. But τέρατα the word uſed here, ſignifies, you ſay, *Prodigies*; and does it not ſignify *Miracles* too?

[*a*] Vid. Spencer de Legibus Heb. l. 1. c. 1.
[*a*] Reply, p. 24.

If

If you think not, I would adviſe you to conſult your Dictionary, before you ſet up for a Critick: Nay, the very Reaſon you give why *Prodigies* muſt needs be meant in this Place, and not *Miracles*, proves juſt the contrary: For they were *ſuch things*, you ſay, *as could be found out, which Miracles could not be:* Now 'tis certain that *Miracles may be contrived, invented, or found out*, ὡς τέρατα ἀνευρῆσθαι, may properly be render'd; but the ſame cannot be ſaid of *monſtrous Births, unnatural Copulations*, &c. which you give as the Inſtances of *Prodigy*. And what, I pray, are the τερατοεργοι mentioned by Authors; *the makers of monſtrous Births, or the Forgers of Miracles?* The following Words indeed are applicable properly to *Prodigies*; but if the Sentence I have quoted be compleat in itſelf, as it ſeems to be conſidered in all our Editions, where 'tis diſtinguiſhed by a full point; then it leads more naturally to the Notion of *Miracles* than of *Prodigies*: However the ſame Word carries certainly in it the Notion of both, and a ſuperſtitious attention to the one, neceſſarily infers the ſame Regard to the other: So that your Obſervation has neither the uſe of Language nor Senſe to ſupport it.

Thirdly, I add, that the *Ægyptians had an High Prieſt, with an Hereditary Prieſthood deſcending from Father to Son.* To this you reply, *that 'tis unlucky for me that according to Herodotus they had not an High Prieſt over the*

whole Nation, as the Jews had, but one over each County or Province, of which there were thirty ſix; a Conſtitution ſo different from that of the Jews, that if I had repreſented it right, I could never lead my Reader to agree with me that Moſes borrowed it from Ægypt of all Countries under Heaven [a]. Moſt acute and ingenious Reaſon! as if inſtead of a Similitude of Cuſtom, which is all I endeavour to ſhew, I had undertaken to prove an Identity or abſolute Uniformity in all Points and Circumſtances: Should a Foreign Prince take a fancy to copy the *Hierarchy* of *England*, and in proportion to the Extent of his Dominions, eſtabliſh either *one Archbiſhop* with ſubordinate *Biſhops*; or *one Biſhop* with ſubordinate *Prieſts*; which laſt Caſe was upon the Matter executed by the late *King of Pruſſia*: You without doubt would argue that the Hint could not poſſibly be taken from *England*; becauſe We had *two Archbiſhops* and He but *one*, or We *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops*, and He onely *a Biſhop*. Your Reaſoning is full as ridiculous in the Caſe before us; as if *Moſes* could not take the Government of the *Diſtrict* or *Province* he lived in, as a Pattern for his own petty State, which was hardly much more conſiderable than a *ſingle County of Ægypt*.

But *'tis unlucky for me*, you ſay, *that Herodotus is not ſpeaking here of any ſuch High Prieſt*

[a] Reply, p. 25.

as the Jews had, one over the whole Nation, but one over each Province. Yet all the ill luck, I doubt, will be found at laſt on your ſide; who taking your Notions from ſeparate Paſſages of Authors, which you interpret preſently according to your own Prejudices, have happened in this Place, as in many others, to gueſs quite wrong. For tho' *Herodotus* tells us here [*a*], that there were *many Prieſts to each God*, and conſequently a great Number of them in the whole; yet he muſt be underſtood to mean, that there was *one High Prieſt* over thoſe many or the whole Number. This is very clear from other Paſſages of his Hiſtory, where he plainly intimates that there was but *one High Prieſt over the whole Nation*, juſt as there was but *one King*: That the *Number of their High Prieſts and their Kings, in a Succeſſion of* 341 *Generations, happened to be exactly equal:* That each *High Prieſt provided a Statue of himſelf to perpetuate his Memory to Poſterity:* And that he himſelf *was introduced by the Prieſts into a large Room or Temple, where theſe Statues were depoſited, and ſaw* 341 *of Coloſſean Size, the Images of ſo many High Prieſts in lineal Deſcent from Father to Son* [*b*]. Which cannot, I think, be applicable to any other *High Prieſt*, but juſt *ſuch an one as the Jews had, one over the whole Nation.*

[*a*] Herod. l. 2. c. 37.
[*b*] Herod. l. 2. c. 143.

Fourthly, *the Ægyptians*, I ſay, *abhorred Swine's Fleſh as impure and abominable.* And here indeed you own, that I deliver *the true Senſe of Herodotus*; to which I had added an Authority of *Joſephus* to the very ſame Purpoſe. As the Fact then is certain and agreed, that the *Ægyptians generally abhorred Swine's Fleſh, and abſtained from it ſuperſtitiouſly*; how can this be made an inſtance of *my falſifying or miſquoting Herodotus?* Why, *becauſe there are three Circumſtances*, as you obſerve with your uſual Acuteneſs, *in which the behaviour of the Jews and Ægyptians with regard to Swine were not alike* [*a*]. But if there had been *threeſcore* inſtead of *three*, it had been nothing at all to the purpoſe, ſince the Fact I contend for is allowed: All that I pretend to intimate, is, from the near Reſemblance of many Cuſtoms, that the *Jews* might probably have borrowed them from *Ægypt:* You cry out on the other hand, that the Inference is *unjuſt, partial, and contrived to deceive*, becauſe I do not ſhew in all points an *Identity of Cuſtom.* All which Clamour proves juſt nothing but your own want of Judgment, in not reflecting, that a Cuſtom may be borrowed, and yet altered, enlarged or reſtrained as the Borrower ſhall afterwards find convenient.

[*a*] Reply, p. 27.

But

But there is one obſervation of yours, which I can't help taking notice of here; that ſince the Cuſtoms which the *Jews* had in common with the *Ægyptians*, were in uſe likewiſe in ſeveral other Countries; why, ſay you, *muſt they needs have been borrowed from Ægypt rather than from any other Country* [*a*]? This you repeat, and inſiſt on again in another place [*b*]; nay, you go ſo far in one Inſtance as to declare, *that of all Countries under Heaven Ægypt was the moſt unlikely to derive the Cuſtom from* [*c*]. Now I cannot for my life conceive, how 'tis poſſible for one, who knows any thing of the *Jewiſh Hiſtory*, and has the leaſt grain of Judgment, to put ſo ſilly a Queſtion. The *Jewiſh Nation* was nurſed up in *Ægypt* from its very infancy, and during a Reſidence there of above 200 Years grew up from one ſingle Family into a mighty People: In all which Time, as is abovementioned, they were trained in *all the Cuſtoms*, and complied even with the *Religion and Idolatry of the Country*: and even after they had quitted it, they retained ſtill, we find, the old fondneſs for the *Cuſtoms*, *Ceremonies* and *Worſhip* they had been uſed to: and this not onely on their Journey, when the Impreſſion and Memory of thoſe Cuſtoms were ſtrong on their Minds, but when they were ſettled in quiet Poſſeſſion of the promiſed Land, and formed into a regular

[*a*] Reply, p. 25. [*b*] Ibid. p. 42. [*c*] Ibid. p. 25.

State;

State; where they continued remarkable for nothing ſo much as their Averſion to Strangers, and their Care to preſerve themſelves ſeparate and clear of any Mixture with all other Nations. If this be true, as it certainly is, what ground can there poſſibly be for what you ſo oft inculcate; *that they might have borrowed their Cuſtoms from any other Country as probably as from Ægypt?* Every Man of Senſe muſt needs laugh at you for entertaining the leaſt thought of its Probability; which you might however have entertained as long as you pleaſe, had you but excuſed me from thinking it probable too, and not made this very Inſtance, in which I follow *Reaſon*, *Fact* and *Hiſtory*, a Proof of my *Partiality and Prejudice againſt Moſes.*

Fifthly, I have paſſed over one of your Obſervations in my way, about the Treatment of *Leprous Perſons*, on purpoſe to give it a particular anſwer; as it is the onely one in your Book, where your Charge upon me of *miſquoting* is ſupported with any Truth or Reaſon. The Paſſage however is found in *Herodotus*, in the very Senſe I had given to it, tho' not, it ſeems, among the *Cuſtoms of Ægypt*, where I had ranged it, but of *Perſia* [*a*]. But tho' it would not perhaps be difficult to ſhew, that the ſame Treatment of *Leproſy* was practiſed alſo in *Ægypt*; yet, as the Quotation ſtands, I can-

[*a*] Reply, p. 26.

not

not but own it to be the effect of Negligence, and want of Attention in me: I took it from my Papers, whither I had tranſcribed it, and not having the Original near me, or being in haſte to finiſh what was before me, I truſted to Memory and the Perſuaſion I was under, that the Fact was related of *Ægypt:* Which I allow to be a Fault that deſerves Animadverſion, as I ſhould as frankly have done in any other Article you charge me with, had there appeared any juſt Ground or Reaſon for ſuch Charge. But ſince you have taken from me one *Ægyptian Cuſtom*, I think myſelf obliged to replace it with another, *viz.* the Laws *about Animals clean and unclean*; which the learned *Cotelerius* allows to have been taken probably *from the Practice of Ægypt*; *to which the Hebrew Nation*, he ſays, *were too much addicted* [*a*]; and gives us a Quotation of *Porphyry*, from *Chæremon the Ægyptian Hiſtorian*, importing, that the *Prieſts of Ægypt abſtained from Fiſh, and all four footed Beaſts, whoſe Hoofs either were not cloven at all, or cloven into many Diviſions, or ſuch as had not Horns* (or, what comes to the ſame, did not *chew the Cud)* and *all carnivorous Birds* [*b*].

It would be endleſs to run thro' all the *Jewiſh Cuſtoms*, which Men of the greateſt Learn-

[*a*] Vid. Barnabæ Epiſt. ex Editione Cotelerii c. x. Not. 42. p. 30.

[*b*] Ibid p. 36. Not. 78.

ing

ing and Experience in theſe ſtudies have deduced from the Practice of *Ægypt.* There's ſuch an *Affinity*, ſays *Kircher*, *between the Jewiſh and Ægyptian Rites, Sacrifices, Ceremonies; that either the Ægyptians muſt have Hebraiſed, or the Hebrews Ægyptiſed* [*a*]: But which of them followed the other in theſe Rites, is ſo clearly decided by the learned *Spencer*, that *no Man, unleſs ſupinely credulous*, as he ſays, can *believe it to have been the Ægyptians* [*b*]. And indeed both he and *Marſham* derive in a manner the *whole ritual Law* from this very Source of *Ægypt: The moveable Tabernacle, Ark of the Covenant, Cherubims, Altar, Sacrifices, Prieſtly Veſtments, the Sabbath, Feſtivals, Waſhings, Purifications, Oracles, Prophecy, Divination*, &c [*c*].

You go on to obſerve, that I *ſhew my Skill or great Negligence of quoting, in falſly rendering into Engliſh the Latin Tranſlation of Maimonides's Words* [*d*]. Hard indeed, not to allow me capable of tranſlating even *Latin*: But whatever you pleaſe to allow, I pretend to a Skill which you are not yet Maſter of, of rendering the true Meaning of a Paſſage agreeable to the

[*a*] Propyl. Agoniſt. c. 2. apud Oedip. Ægypt. T. i.

[*b*] Nemo vero niſi ſupinè credulus, opinari poteſt Ægyptios, &c. de Leg. Hebræor. l. 3. c. 2. Sec. 2. p. 650.

[*c*] Ibid. l. 3. c. 3. p. 663, &c.—It. Marſh. Can. Chron.

[*d*] Reply, p. 29.

general

general Notion conveyed by it, without trifling and dwelling on the leſs ſignificant words, ſo as to hurt the main and obvious Senſe of the whole. Let us try your Criticiſm by this Rule. *Spencer* ſpeaking of *Circumciſion* in the Words of *Maimonides* [a], calls it *res duriſſima & difficillima*; here we have its Character and Deſcription; and the main Notion of the Paſſage is, that it was a *moſt harſh* and *moſt hazardous* thing: Now is it poſſible that a thing in its Nature the *moſt dangerous*, could ever be performed without *ſome Danger*? But *I change*, you ſay, *the reſtraining Word, ſometimes with Hazard, into ſome Hazard*: Where every body but yourſelf will ſee the propriety of it, in order to make the Sentence conſiſtent with itſelf: for as ſoon as I diſcover the true Sentiment of an Author, 'tis enough for me to catch hold of that, and not like your ſolemn Pedants think myſelf obliged to follow the very Inaccuracies and Perplexities of the Original.

But you urge me ſtill and ſay, that *I ſhew my uſual Dexterity* in the uſe of a Paſſage taken from *Lightfoot* [b], on whoſe Authority I aſſert, that *the frequent Mortality occaſioned by Circumciſion produced a ſtanding Law, that when any*

[a] Res duriſſima & difficillima, nec ſine vitæ diſcrimine quandoque ſubeunda.

[b] Reply, p. 30.

Perſon

Perſon had loſt three Children ſucceſſively by it, he was to be excuſed from circumciſing the reſt, in conſequence of which there were actually many uncircumciſed among them, &c. Where *Lightfoot*, you obſerve, *ſpeaks not a word either of a ſtanding Law, or the frequent Mortality of Circumciſion.* But does not the Caſe itſelf ſpeak neceſſarily of both? And can any Man be ſo ſilly as to think, that by a *ſtanding Law* I could mean a *Law of Moſes?* No, the frequent Mortality occaſioned by Circumciſion produced a *Judgment* or *Deciſion*, as you own, of the *Rabbins* or *Jewiſh Doctors*, who were both Interpreters of the Law and Guides of Conſcience, that *when a Man had loſt three Children ſucceſſively by Circumciſion, he ſhould be excuſed from circumciſing the reſt.* This I call a *ſtanding Law* or *Practice* or *Cuſtom*; grounded on a Decree of the proper Judges in the Caſe. But *Lightfoot*, you ſay, *does not ſpeak a Word of the frequent Mortality of it.* But does not the Fact he mentions as ſometimes happening *of three Children dying of it ſucceſſively* neceſſarily imply and infer it? Allow the Caſe to have happened, tho' but ſeldom, and the other will follow of courſe: And here you ſhew, what you do indeed in every other Place, that your Cavils are founded onely in your own Miſtake of the very thing you cavil at: For you charge me as producing this Paſſage to prove, that the *Caſe of three Children's dying ſucceſſively by Circumciſion was frequent*

quent with them [*a*]: Whereas all I endeavour to ſhew, is, that *the Mortality of Circumciſion muſt needs be frequent*, becauſe *that Caſe did ſometimes* happen: No body can imagine the Caſe itſelf to be very common, tho' you allow *five or ſix inſtances* of it on Record; and if no more had ever happened, they are more than ſufficient to ſhew, that Circumciſion was *ordinarily dangerous* and *often mortal:* You will hardly deny the *Small Pox* to be *frequently mortal*, yet few or none perhaps know five or ſix Caſes of *three Children dying ſucceſſively of it* in the ſame Family: which yet happened ſo often, according to *Lightfoot*, thro' *the danger of Circumciſion*, that there were *many uncircumciſed* on that account both of the *Prieſts and People.* And thus the Words of *Maimonides* and Paſſage of *Lightfoot*, in ſpite of your Cavils, demonſtrably prove all I contend for, *the frequent Mortality of Circumciſion.*

I have now gone thro' your *Criticiſms on my Quotations*, and have ſhewn them to be both falſe and trifling, void both of Learning and Judgment: But this, Sir, ought not to reflect ſo much Shame on you, as the want of Candour and Truth, and the love of Calumny you betray in the Management of them. At ſetting out you would perſuade your Reader, that there's *ſcarce one Quotation*, which I have not

[*a*] Reply, p. 31.

abuſed

abuſed and miſrepreſented; yet out of *fourſcore* you attempt onely ſome ſlight Objections to *fifteen*, as you reckon, but as every body elſe will count, *thirteen* onely; the two laſt, as we ſhall preſently ſee, being not exceptions to my *Quotations*, (as to enhance the Number, you abſurdly call them) but to my Reaſonings: And of theſe *thirteen*, there's but a *poor ſingle one* left you, in which you have ſhewn indeed ſome want of attention or too much haſte in me, but no poſſible ſuſpicion of any wilful Miſrepreſentation. Is this then the part of a Man of Honour or Integrity to calumniate ſo ſtrongly on a Foundation ſo weak? Is this ſuitable to the Gravity of the Perſon you aſſume, and your conjuring me ſo ſolemnly *in God's Name, and for the ſake of Sincerity, to weigh things better, and report Facts more fairly* [*a*]? Will not the Reader be apt to entertain the ſame Suſpicion of your Religion, as he muſt before have done of your Learning, that with all this Outcry about it, you have no real Eſteem or Concern for it; for which Reflection he will find ſtill but too much Reaſon in what follows?

You proceed to call over again the *Story of Babel*, and declare my account of *that Confuſion* to be *truly a confuſed one* [*b*]: where for the ſake of a ſtupid Jeſt, you put your Judgment to ſome riſk with the Reader; who may not per-

[*a*] Reply, P. 40, 41. [*b*] Reply, P. 31.

haps

haps be of Opinion, that my way of writing is ſo *confuſed* as you would intimate: But to come to the Point. I ſhall firſt conſider what you object to my Account of this Fact, and then examine the Merit of your own Expoſition of it.

I have ſaid in *my Letter, that the Sons of Noah were ſo far from any Reſolution of not diſperſing themſelves, that before the Confuſion of Babel they had already begun to diſperſe, and actually ſent off a great Colony from the Eaſt to the Land of Shinaar* [*a*]. For this I produced the concurrent Teſtimony both of *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*, both *Patrick* and *Calmet*; and thought myſelf very orthodox and ſafe under the Shelter of ſuch Authority; but all, it ſeems, in vain; ſince *the Queſtion*, you ſay [*b*], *is not what any Commentator has fancied, but what the Scripture has taught about the Matter.* How hard is it to deal with ſuch thorough-paced Divines? *Commentators* are at ſome times every thing; at others nothing with them. Doctor *Waterland* contemns his Adverſary for having *no Acquaintance* with them [*c*]; and you contemn me for being *acquainted* with them: The Doctor ſays, *that there's not one Commentator of Note, but would have ſet his Antagoniſt right* [*d*]; you pretend to ſhew, that *Two of the beſt Note* have

[*a*] Letter to Dr. Waterland, P. 41.
[*b*] Reply, p. 32. [*c*] Script. Vind. Par. 1. p. 8.
[*d*] Ibid. p. 24.

ſet me *quite wrong* [*a*]. But there cannot be much difficulty in defending *Patrick* and *Calmet* againſt ſuch an Expoſitor as your ſelf: Let's try what can be done.

You obſerve, that in the end of the *tenth Chapter of Geneſis* preceding the *Story of Babel*, 'tis ſaid of the *Sons of Noah*, *that by them were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood.* And then it follows, Chap. xi. *And the whole Earth was of one Language and one Speech. Where all Mankind*, you ſay, *is ſpoken of without the Excluſion of any Part.* But, pray Sir, what do theſe two Verſes import, but that the ſeveral Nations of the World were founded and peopled by the *Diſperſion of the Sons of Noah*, and that before *the Confuſion of Babel* the whole Earth had but *one Language?* Where the very Expreſſion of the *whole Earth* ſeems to intimate ſome kind of diſperſion and peopling of different Countries previous to *that Confuſion.* But in the next Verſe 'tis ſaid, *And it came to paſs as they journeyed from the Eaſt, that they found a Plain in the Land of Shinaar and dwelt there.* That is; of theſe *Sons of Noah*, by whom the *Nations were divided*, in the very Act of dividing and diſperſing themſelves, as one *great Part or Colony* travelled from the *Eaſt*, they found a convenient Plain and ſettled there. But here's not a *Word*, you ſay, *about their diſperſing them-*

[*a*] Rep. p. 32.

ſelves,

ſelves, or ſending of Colonies: But is it not implied in this *journeying from the Eaſt*, or is it poſſible to diſperſe any otherwiſe than by journeying from one place to another? But there's no Hint given; you obſerve, that this is to be underſtood of a *part of them* onely, and not of the *whole*. But where the Text is ſilent, or obſcure, muſt not we fill up the Senſe of it from Reaſon and the Nature of things, which neceſſarily ſuggeſt ſuch a Diſtinction? For what Senſe can there be in ſuppoſing, as you do, that the whole of Mankind muſt needs travel thus from Place to Place in one Body? Why, *when they had conſumed the Proviſion and Forage their firſt Settlement afforded, they were forced*, you ſay, *to remove to another*. But would not Reaſon and Neceſſity have taught them, that the onely Remedy for this Evil muſt be their *ſeparating* from each other, and not *journeying together?* For the ſame Inconvenience would always attend them, whilſt they all held in a Body; and there could have been no end of their journeying, if they had hung together, till they had eat up every thing the Place afforded: All which Diſtreſs would have been prevented at once, if as ſoon as Victuals grew ſcarce for their *whole Number*, they had ſent off a *Part* or *Colony* to freſh Quarters; whilſt as many of them ſtaid behind and kept Poſſeſſion of the old ones, as they were capable of receiving.

Again, by ſuppoſing the *whole Body of Mankind* to be concerned and preſent at the *Confu-*

ſion of Babel, you involve *Noah and his Sons*, who were then alive, in the Guilt and Partnerſhip of that Rebellion againſt God: But 'tis improbable or incredible rather, that ſuch a *Preacher of Righteouſneſs*, whoſe Faith and Virtues are ſo celebrated in Scripture, could either have conſented himſelf to ſo wicked a project, or that ſo *venerable a Parent of human Race* ſhould not have Credit and Authority enough in his own Family to have reſtrained them from ſo daring an Impiety. So that 'tis on all accounts highly reaſonable to conclude with the *learned Commentators* above mentioned, that it was but *a Colony or Part of the whole*, that travelled from the *Eaſt*, and were concerned in building the *Tower of Babel.*

But I had obſerved in my Letter, that *all we can collect from this Story is, that the Multitude at Babel, knowing they muſt ſoon be diſperſed ſtill further, had a mind before ſuch Diſperſion to erect ſome publick Monument of their common Origin, by building a City and a Tower that ſhould reach as high as Heaven; and that it was the Preſumption and Arrogance of this Deſign that induced God to baffle it by confounding their Language*, &c. Now you on the contrary affirm, that *I collect from the Story a Deſign quite different from what the Story expreſly mentions* [*a*]: Where I muſt leave it to the Reader to judge whether

[*a*] Reply, p. 35.

I have

I have juſtly repreſented the Senſe of Scripture or no: For does it not plainly intimate, that the Ground of their offending God, was in the Deſign they had projected of *building a Tower as high as Heaven?* Does it give any other Inſtance of their Arrogance and Preſumption? And does it not likewiſe expreſly ſay, that their Intent was to *raiſe themſelves a Name* by the Project they had formed? The Story I declared to be a *ſtrange one*, and durſt not for that Reaſon venture on any other Solution of it, than what the very Words ſuggeſted. But *I was miſled*, you ſay, *and endeavour to miſlead my Reader by the idle Tranſlation of the Old Greek and Latin Interpreters*; ſince the Original imports juſt what our *Engliſh Verſion* gives; *let us build a City and a Tower that may reach to Heaven, and let us make a Name, leſt we be ſcattered abroad*, &c. And allowing all this; does not even the Word *leſt* imply an Apprehenſion or Notion that they ſhould ſhortly be obliged to diſperſe further; and an Intention conſequently to erect this *publick Monument and make themſelves a Name before ſuch Diſperſion?* But the Word *leſt* according to you gives a quite different Turn to the Senſe; as if it had been ſaid, *let us build a City and a Tower, to prevent or hinder our further Diſperſion.* Strange Nonſenſe! As if a Tower could change the Nature of Things, and prevent their being ſcattered abroad or diſperſed to people the Earth: Unleſs you can ſuppoſe them reſolved to combat Heaven itſelf, and ſilly enough to

imagine that by the help of ſuch Entrenchments they ſhould be able to baffle the Power of the Almighty.

The Text then, whether we render it according to the *Seventy Interpreters* and the old *Latin*, or according to our *vulgar Engliſh*, comes, we ſee, in a manner to the ſame thing: I cannot however diſmiſs it without obſerving the Raſhneſs of your Cenſure on the *Old Greek Verſion*, which you call an *Idle Tranſlation*, tho' it was ſo frequently uſed, and *authenticated* as it were by our *Saviour*, *the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts*, and held for Sacred and Inſpired by all the *Primitive Fathers*.

I ſhall now juſt ſpend a Word or two in examining your own Account of *this Hiſtorical Fact*; where tho' you ſeem cautious of uſing Dr. *Waterland*'s Words, yet you aſſert in effect the very ſame thing, which in every Dreſs of Language will always be equally abſurd. The *Doctor* ſays, *that the Sons of Noah had formed a Conſpiracy to hang together in a Cluſter, and neither to diſperſe nor cultivate the Ground, had not God miraculouſly interpoſed to confound their Projects*, &c [*a*]. You ſay, *that they were reſolved to hold cloſely together; to adhere ſtrictly to each other, and never to part, if God had not forced them to it, to prevent thoſe Quarrels and Wars*

[*a*] Scripture Vindicated, Part 1. p. 42.

which

which would inevitably ariſe among them from their living together, &c [*a*]. Strange, that ſuch a loving, fond Society, that could not bear the thought of leaving each other, *determined*, as you ſay, *to live and die together* [*b*], ſhould ſo ſoon be engaged in *Quarrels and Wars!* But their Love, it ſeems, was ſo extravagant, that it was worſe than Death to them to part, and they would chuſe rather to kill one another than live aſunder. 'Tis ſurprizing, I ſay, that Men of any Underſtanding can take up with ſuch Abſurdities, and after much Pains and Plodding ſhould have got no further in thinking than what their Nurſes had taught them.

Had Mankind in thoſe firſt Ages of the World been all confin'd within ſome *Iſland*, whence no Eſcape was practicable; the Account you give might have had ſome Reaſon in it, that as faſt as their Numbers increaſed and their Victuals diminiſhed, they muſt have been forced to deſtroy and prey upon each other; but even in ſuch a Caſe, rather than periſh by Hunger, they would have ſtruggled hard and tried many an Invention of Floats and Veſſels in queſt of better Quarters by Sea: But to ſuppoſe ſuch a Multitude in the middle of the Continent and in fruitful Plains determined to hold together till they ſtarved, and like Men in the Extremity of a Siege, killing

[*a*] Reply, p. 38, 39, &c. [*b*] Ib. p. 39.

each other for want of Victuals, which yet might be had for fetching; whilſt Plenty and all the World lay before them, if they would but diſperſe themſelves to the Enjoyment of it; is ſo ſenſeleſs and abſurd a Notion, that 'tis inconceivable how any Man can entertain it. There could not then be any want of a Miracle to bring about the *Diſperſion of Mankind* in its infant, growing State; or occaſion for any other Command, than what was given to Man at his Creation and implanted in his Nature; *encreaſe and multiply*; the certain Conſequence of which is to *diſperſe and repleniſh the Earth:* His own natural Appetites would neceſſarily force him to it, as ſoon as it became convenient, in ſpite of any Will or Reſolution to the contrary, could any ſuch without Abſurdity be ſuppoſed.

You come at laſt to expoſe the *Falſhood of the Hiſtorical Facts*, which *I have raſhly advanced*, as you ſay [*a*], *in ſeveral Parts of my Letter:* Where one would imagine that you would have conteſted with me every *ſingle Fact* I had touched upon, ſince you proclaim it in your *Title Page*, and undertake to ſhew the *general Falſhood* of them all: Yet all the *Facts* you pretend to diſpute with me are but *two*; and of theſe *two*, the ſecond, as I've obſerved above, is *no Queſtion of Fact* at all, but a Squabble onely

[*a*] Reply, p. 41.

about

about my Opinion or Manner of ſolving a *certain Fact* which we both allow to be delivered in Hiſtory, viz. the *Confuſion of Babel.* This you call *one of the Hiſtorical Facts, that I have falſly advanced*; which ſhews the little Arts you are forced to uſe to raiſe an Outcry againſt me, and enhance the Sum total of my Malice and Impiety.

The *onely Fact* then you conteſt with me, as *raſhly advanced in my Letter*, is concerning the *Learning, Politeneſs and flouriſhing Condition of Ægypt in Moſes's Time.* I had aſſerted it to be more probable that the *Jews* ſhould borrow from the *Ægyptians*, than the *Ægyptians* from the *Jews*, from the general Character of the two Nations: of the *Ægyptians*, as always *learned and polite*; of the *Jews*, always *rude and illiterate.* And tho' I had aſſigned no Period of Time to their Fame for Learning, yet ſince my Reaſoning ſuppoſes them poſſeſſed of it before *Moſes*'s time, I will here join Iſſue, and allow, as you ſay [*a*], that *the Queſtion between us is, whether Ægypt was ſo great a Kingdom, ſo polite a Nation in Moſes's time as I have repreſented it.* This then is the Fact, that I undertake to make good; I will not ſay againſt you, who ſeem to know but little of the Matter, but againſt what you abſurdly call the *Demonſtrations and Diſcoveries of Sir Iſaac Newton* [*b*].

[*a*] Reply, p. 42. [*b*] Reply, p. 44, 50.

You

You had heard much talk of Sir *Iſaac's Demonſtrations* in Mathematicks and his great *Diſcoveries* in Natural Knowledge; and imagined perhaps that thoſe Words ſignified nothing more than *Conjecture* or *Opinion*. For had you reflected what a *Demonſtration* meant, you could not have applied it to a *Syſtem of Chronology*, however probable, or preferable to all others, which from the Nature of Things can never reach Certainty or admit of *Demonſtration*. But pray Sir, after all, what is it that Sir *Iſaac* has diſcovered? has he brought to light any old Authors, which for Ages paſt had lain buried in Oblivion; or any Monuments of Antiquity unknown before to the Curious? Or has he done in the learned, what he did in the natural World; invented a *new Teleſcope*, to pry into remote and dark Antiquity with more Accuracy than had been practicable before? If he has done nothing of this, then *all his Diſcoveries* can amount onely to *Conjecture*; which like that of all other Men, will always be fallible and uncertain, as we ſhall find more eſpecially in the very Inſtance before us.

In ſaying this, I am far from any thought of weakening the Authority or leſſening the Character of Sir *Iſaac*; I have as great an Honour for him as you have, and look upon him as one of the greateſt Philoſophers the World has ever produced: But if as in Mathematicks

maticks and Philoſophy, ſo in every other Part of Learning, his Authority muſt needs be advanced above that of all others; I muſt take the liberty to diſſent from you, and to declare, that for a thorough Knowledge of Antiquity, and the whole Compaſs of *Greek and Ægyptian* Learning, there have been, in my Opinion, and now are, many Men as far ſuperior to him, as he within his proper Character is ſuperior to every body elſe. And I cannot but obſerve, that it is much the ſame Caſe here with the *Authority of Sir Iſaac*, as it was above with that of *Moſes*; 'tis not I, but you who weaken it, by forcing and ſtretching it to a Point whither it can't be extended, to a length it never can reach.

But to come to the Queſtion, of the *Politeneſs and Learning of the Ægyptians in Moſes's time:* I had touched it but ſlightly in my *Letter*, imagining that it muſt have been taken for granted, or could not at leaſt be called in queſtion by any *Chriſtian* on the ſingle Teſtimony of St. *Stephen*; who affirms, *Moſes to have been learned in all the Wiſdom of the Ægyptians* [*a*]. But I was much ſurprized to find you treat St. *Stephen*'s Authority ſo ſlightly; by telling us, *that theſe Words of St. Stephen were not a Proof of any thing but that he ſpake according to the then receiv'd Tradition of the Jews* [*b*];

[*a*] Act. vii. 22. [*b*] Reply, p. 49.

which

which is telling us in effect, that they proved juſt nothing at all, but that himſelf was miſled by the vulgar Errors and popular Prejudices of that Age; that had he lived to ſee Sir *Iſaac Newton's Demonſtrations and Diſcoveries*, he muſt have been of another Mind. Strange! to find ſo zealous an Advocate of Chriſtianity, in order to get rid of a ſlight Difficulty, deſtroying the very Foundation of all Revealed Religion. For is it poſſible, Sir, that a Perſon *inſpired by God, full of the Holy Ghoſt*, and ſpeaking under the *actual Influence and Direction of the Divine Spirit*, as St. *Stephen* here did, could be miſled by popular Error or Prejudice to utter any thing falſe and erroneous? Such a Conceſſion muſt needs ſhake, I ſay, the very Foundation of *Chriſtianity* itſelf. For what Impreſſion could its Dictates make, if tho' inſpired, they could yet be ſuppoſed to be falſe? Thus whilſt your zeal for ſenſeleſs Syſtems tranſports you to treat me rudely, for moderating onely the extravagant Notions of ſome of our popular Divines, and demoliſhing ſuch ſlight Outworks as make the Defence of Religion more difficult; you betray the very Citadel, and yield up the Fortreſs itſelf. This is a length and freedom of thinking, which, I aſſure you, I cannot reach; however you are pleaſed to calumniate me as a *Favourer of Infidelity*; For tho' I'm far from thinking every Tittle in the *Holy Scriptures to be inſpired*; or that Perſons *inſpired* on certain Occaſions, muſt of courſe be

infallible on all; yet I cannot but think it a Point fundamental and neceſſary to be believed by all Chriſtians, that whilſt a Man is under the *actual Influence and Direction of the Holy Ghoſt*, he muſt at the ſame time be *infallible and ſuperior to all Error*; or elſe Chriſtianity cannot be defended. In the preſent Caſe therefore from the ſingle Teſtimony of St. *Stephen*, *full of the Holy Ghoſt*, we are as much obliged to believe, *that Learning flouriſhed in Ægypt before Moſes's time*, as that Chriſtianity itſelf is true; for both muſt ſtand or fall together.

And here I have the pleaſure to find my Opinion confirmed by Dr. *Waterland* himſelf, on whoſe Learning and Judgment you ſet ſo high a Value; who affirms the *Authority of St. Stephen ſpeaking by the Spirit of God*, with regard to any Action or Paſſage of Hiſtory, to be ſufficient to ſilence all Cavils to the thing itſelf, tho' otherwiſe ſeemingly wrong and contrary to the reaſon of things; as in the Caſe of *Moſes's killing the Ægyptian:* how much more deciſive then muſt the ſame Authority be, when it aſſerts onely a plain matter of Fact, in itſelf harmleſs and indifferent? Why, to uſe the *Doctor*'s own Words; the *Queſtion admits of a ſhort Deciſion, and is onely this: Whether St. Stephen full of the Holy Ghoſt, or a Gentleman full of himſelf and his own imaginations be moſt likely to paſs a true Judgment on the Caſe* [*a*]?

[*a*] Script. Vindic. Part. 2. p. 5.

To

To the Teſtimony of St. *Stephen* we may add another from the *Old Teſtament*; where in celebrating the great Wiſdom of *Solomon* 'tis ſaid, that it *exceeded that of the Ægyptians* [*a*]. Now this, whether we are to take it for *inſpired*, or as a mere *hiſtorical Teſtimony*, muſt however convince all who have any regard for Scripture, that *Ægypt was famed for Wiſdom before the Age of Solomon*; but Scripture is nothing with you to Sir *Iſaac's Demonſtrations*; *who has diſcovered*, it ſeems, that the *Ægyptians had not ſo much as the uſe of Letters* among them till *Solomon's Reign* [*b*].

With this Account of *Scripture* the whole Stream of *Profane Hiſtory* entirely agrees; that the *Ægyptians* of all People in the World had the moſt antient Monuments, and moſt authentick Proofs of their *Learning and Antiquity*.

Herodotus owns, that the *Greeks* borrowed almoſt every thing from them; that they were the Inventors of moſt Arts and Sciences; *the Diviſion of the Year*; *the Immortality of the Soul*; *the Names and Worſhip of the Gods*, *Altars*, *Statuary*, *Sculpture*, &c [*c*]. That they reckoned a Succeſſion of Kings from *Hercules to Amaſis*, *for the Space of ſeventeen thouſand Years*; *which*

[*a*] 1 Kings iv. 30.
[*b*] Reply, p. 43.
[*c*] Herod. l. 2. c. 4, 46, 50, 123, &c.

they

they pretended to demonſtrate by an exact Regiſter and Computation of Time regularly preſerved in their ſacred Books [*a*].

Diodorus Siculus gives much the ſame Account of their *Antiquity* and *Invention of Arts and Sciences*; and ſays, that *beſides their fabulous Hiſtory, wherein they ſuppoſed their Country to have been governed by the Gods, they pretended to a Succeſſion of four hundred and ſeventy Kings and five Queens Natives of Ægypt, excluſive of the Time they were under the Æthiopians, Perſians and Macedonians; of all which Reigns they had clear and diſtinct Accounts in their ſacred Records, deſcribing particularly every Prince's Perſon, Character and Length of Reign; from which Books he himſelf had made his Extracts* [*b*]. He ſays alſo, what indeed all other Writers confirm, that it was *antiently the moſt populous of all the known Countries of the World; and had in it above eighteen thouſand Cities and conſiderable Towns. Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny* affirm it to have had *twenty thouſand in the Reign of Amaſis*, and that it continued to their own Time, *well ſtocked with Cities, tho' leſs noble ones* [*c*].

[*a*] Ibid. c. 43. Ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι ἀιεὶ τὸ λογιζόμενοι καὶ ἀιεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. Ibid. c. 145.

[*b*] Biblioth. Hiſt. l. 1. p. 41, 42. Edit. Rhodom. It. p. 27. B.

[*c*] De Situ Orbis, l. 1. c. 9. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 9.

This

This Notion of the *Greatneſs, Antiquity and Learning of the Ægyptians, ſuperior to all other Nations*, is fully confirm'd and aſſerted by all the *primitive Writers* both *Jews and Chriſtians.*

Philo the learned *Jew*, who himſelf lived in *Ægypt*, tells us, that *Moſes learnt of his Ægyptian Maſters, who were ſought out for him from all Parts, Arithmetick, Geometry, Muſick, and their Philoſophy expreſſed by Symbols, or Hieroglyphicks under the Figures of Animals; and Mathematicks, which the Ægyptians were eſpecially fond of*, &c [*a*].

Clemens of Alexandria, who lived likewiſe in *Ægypt*, exactly follows *Philo*'s Account, and aſcribes to the *Ægyptians* the Invention of the principal Arts and Sciences [*b*].

Euſebius after both affirms the ſame thing; aſcribes to the *Ægyptians the Invention of Arts and Sciences*, declares, that they had the *cleareſt and moſt undoubted Monuments of their Antiquity*, and that *the Greeks borrwed all in a manner from them* [*c*].

[*a*] De Vita Moſis, lib. 1. p. 605, 606.

[*b*] Strom. l. 1. p. 413, 361. Edit. Potter.

[*c*] Præparat. Evangel. p. 29, &c. It. 279, 280, &c. Edit. R. Steph.

Joſephus

Joſephus is juſt in the ſame Story with the reſt, and allows them in *Solomon*'s time to have *excelled all other Nations in the Fame of their Wiſdom* [*a*].

Now if there had been any Prejudice in theſe *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Writers, who were all zealous and orthodox in their Religion, it muſt needs have been like yours on the other ſide of the Queſtion; in thinking it a *Diminution to the Authority of Moſes*, to imagine that he had borrowed any thing from *Ægypt*; but the Notoriety of the Fact and the Teſtimony of all Hiſtory obliged them to allow and aſſert the Truth, which can never do Hurt to any Cauſe that is good.

But 'tis time to examine what Sir *Iſaac Newton has demonſtrated and diſcovered* in Oppoſition to all this Authority. Why, he has obſerved, that *Ægypt was ſo thinly peopled before the Birth of Moſes, that Pharoah ſaid of the Iſraelites, behold the Children of Iſrael are more and mightier than we: From whence it may at leaſt*, you ſay, *be inferred, that the Jews were then no leſs powerful and flouriſhing a People than the Ægyptians* [*b*]. Where you ſeem to think yourſelf very modeſt in not inſiſting on much

[*a*] Con. Ap. 1. 2. 6. Et Antiq. Jud. l. 8. c. 2. §. 5.
[*b*] Reply, p. 42, 43.

more, viz. that the *Iſraelites were even more potent and numerous than their Maſters the Ægyptians*. Strange Notion indeed! Not that I wonder at you, whoſe Notions ſeem generally to be taken on truſt, but at Sir *Iſaac* for entertaining it; being grounded meerly on Miſtake or want of Attention to the *lofty and hyperbolical Stile of Scripture*: For by the ſame Reaſon he might as well have proved, that the *Jews* were abſolutely the moſt powerful Nation in the World, ſince none of the *great Monarchies* ever reached the height of thoſe Deſcriptions we find given of them in the *Sacred Writings*; where they are oft deſcribed to be as numerous *as the Sands of the Sea and the Stars of Heaven* [*a*], *for Multitude*. And it is from the ſame Sublimity of Expreſſion, that the *ſeven petty Nations* of the promiſed Land are ſaid to *be more and mightier* than theſe very *Iſraelites*; and their *Cities impregnable and even fenced up to Heaven* [*b*]. But to review the Text itſelf, whence you draw this Inference: *The People of Iſrael*, ſays *Pharaoh*, *are more and mightier than we*: And what's the Conſequence? Why, a Reſolution *to afflict them the more heavily for it*, and to make their Slavery the more *rigorous* [*c*]. A wonderful Proof of *ſuperior Power and Might*, to ſuffer themſelves to be treated the worſe for it by the *fewer and weaker!*

[*a*] Gen. xxii. 17. 2 Sam. xvii. 11. Heb. xi. 12.
[*b*] Deut vii. 1. Exod. ix. 1. [*c*] Exod. i. 9, &c.

But

But to examine a little the Poſſibility of this Notion from the very Account we have of it in *Scripture*. Whilſt *Abraham* the *Father of the Jews* was yet childleſs, *Ægypt* is repreſented as a formed and eſtabliſhed Monarchy: For we read of *Pharaoh its King*, with *his Princes* or great Courtiers around him [*a*]. About two hundred Years after, at *Jacob*'s Deſcent into *Ægypt*, when the whole Poſterity of *Abraham* reached onely the Number of *ſeventy Perſons*, we have a more particular Deſcription of the Wealth and flouriſhing Condition of that Kingdom [*b*]. And yet in about two hundred Years more, you ſuppoſe the *ſmall Family of Jacob* to be grown ſuperior in Power and Numbers to a Kingdom founded ſo many Ages before; which all this while had held them in Bondage and Slavery, and employed them in conſtant Drudgery and hard Labour.

Again, conſider the Circumſtances of their Flight from *Ægypt*. *Pharaoh* repenting of the Leave he had given them, purſues them with *ſix hundred choſen Chariots* [*c*]; and, as *Joſephus* adds, *with fifty thouſand Horſe, and two hundred thouſand Foot* [*d*]. Which yet could onely be a ſmall Part of the military Force of *Ægypt*;

[*a*] Gen. xii. 15. [*b*] Gen. xlvi, &c.
[*c*] Exod. xiv. 7.
[*d*] Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 15. §. 3, &c.

as it muſt have been gathered in haſte and marched on ſo ſhort a warning. With this Force, according to the ſame *Hiſtorian*, he hemmed them in in ſuch a manner between the Mountains and the Water, that they muſt all have been infallibly cut off, had not a Paſſage been opened to them of a ſudden, either miraculouſly or accidentally thro' the Red Sea. So that taking the Account from *Scripture* and the *Jews themſelves*, there cannot be any ground for a Compariſon of the *Power and flouriſhing Condition* of the two Nations.

This Sir, is what Sir *Iſaac's Diſcoveries* amount to with regard to the *Strength and Greatneſs of the Ægyptian Nation:* Let us next ſee what he has *demonſtrated* againſt the Learning and Wiſdom, which I ſuppoſe them to have had in *Moſes's time.* Why he ſays, that the *Invention of Letters was aſcribed by the Ægyptians to Thoth, Secretay to King Oſiris; who was the ſame Perſon as Bacchus, as Seſoſtris, as Seſac or Shiſac who plundered the Temple of Jeruſalem in the time of Rehoboam* [*a*]: And conſequently that they were ſo far from having any Learning, that they had not even the *uſe of Letters* till about *Solomon*'s Reign. But how does he prove all this? why, by meer Conjecture: *Oſiris, Bacchus, Seſoſtris*, ſays he, *lived about the ſame time; were all Kings of Ægypt*;

[*a*] Reply, p. 43. Newt. Chron. p. 210.

potent

potent by Land and Sea; all great Conquerors; carried their Conqueſts as far as India; all left Pillars with Inſcriptions, &c. and therefore all three muſt be the ſame King, and this King can be no other than Seſac [*a*]. And he might as well have ſaid, that they muſt all be the ſame with *Alexander the Great*, ſince much the ſame Actions are attributed alſo to him.

I ſhall not trouble myſelf with examining this Conjecture any further, than as it concerns the *Fact* I am engaged to ſupport, that the *Ægyptians had Arts and Learning amongſt them before the time of Seſac or Rehoboam.* And how is it poſſible to imagine that ſo *great a Kingdom as Ægypt*, which, as we learn from Scripture, had flouriſhed for about a thouſand Years from the time of *Abraham* to *Shiſac*, ſhould thro' all that Period want not onely the *uſe of Letters*, but almoſt all the other Arts and Inventions uſeful to Life; whilſt the *petty State of the Jews* bordering ſo cloſely upon them, had all this while the familiar uſe of them all? *Oſiris* according to the Ancients, and his Wife *Iſis*, invented the *Culture of the Vine*; *Phyſick*; *Sowing and Ploughing*, &c [*b*]. Now, if Sir *Iſaac*'s Conjecture be true, they muſt have lived without *Medicine*, *Corn* or *Wine* till the time of *Shi-*

[*a*] Newt. ibid. p. 193.

[*b*] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 14. It. p. 22. It. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. p. 29, &c.

ſac or *Solomon*, whilſt yet we know certainly from *Scripture* that they had *Phyſicians and Plenty of Corn*, near ſeven hundred Years before in *Joſeph*'s time [*a*].

In the *Book of Job*, which is ſuppoſed by many to be older than *Moſes* himſelf, the *uſe of Letters and Writing* is repreſented as a thing of long and antient ſtanding [*b*]. And the *Iſraelites* themſelves at their coming out of *Ægypt*, were not onely acquainted with *Letters*, but all the *common Arts* and *Sciences* uſeful to Life; which are not yet ſpoken of as new or lately invented, but referred to as things vulgar and of old familiar to them. *Moſes*, we know, *wrote down the Words of the Lord* [*c*]; and *Joſhua wrote the Covenant he made with the People in the Law* [*d*]: But they had written to little purpoſe, had not *writing* been known before, and in common uſe with the People; who were in Poſſeſſion likewiſe of all the *other Arts*, as *Building*, *Statuary*, *Sculpture*, *cutting and ſetting of precious Stones*, *working in all ſorts of Metals*, *Embroidery*, *Needlework* [*e*]. Now, where can we imagine them to have learnt theſe Arts? In fighting their way thro' an Enemy's Country; or in the Wilderneſs? That's impoſ-

[*a*] Gen. I. 2. It. xlii. 1.
[*b*] Job xix. 23. viii. 8.
[*c*] Exod. xxiv. 4. [*d*] Joſh. xxiv. 26.
[*e*] Exod. xxxvi. &c.

ſible;

ſible: Or was *Moſes* the Inventor of them? That's as impoſſible as the other [*a*]: For in the Hurry and unſettled State they were in, they had neither Ability nor Leiſure to invent or learn any thing: Nor is it credible that the Scripture, which ſo carefully relates every other great Action of *Moſes*, could have been ſilent on ſuch an occaſion, and omitted to give him the Glory of Inventions ſo uſeful and neceſſary to the Life of Man. So that 'tis as evident and certain, as both Reaſon and Hiſtory can make it, that *Moſes* and the *Children of Iſrael* came furniſhed and provided out of *Ægypt* not onely with *Letters* and the uſe of *Writing*, but all the other *Arts and Sciences.*

Beſides, it was conſtantly objected to the *Jews* by their Enemies; that they *were of all Barbarians the moſt rude and illiterate, and the onely People in the World who had never contributed any ſhare to the common Benefit of Mankind, by the Invention of any thing new or uſeful* to Life [*b*]: This was their Character in the World: And *Joſephus* is ſo far from confuting it, that he owns the Charge; and excuſes it from the Nature and Policy of their Government, which

[*a*] Moſem multi frivolis rationibus ducti ſcribendi auctorem faciunt. Kirch. Ob. Pam. l. 1. 2.

[*b*] Ἀφυεςάτους ἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων; καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν εἰς τὸν βίον εὕρημα συμβεβλῆσθαι μόνους. Joſ. con. Ap. l. 2. c. 14.

obliged them to ſuch an *immutable* and *inviolable obſervance of their Laws*, that they were reſtrained and crampt from attempting and ſtriking out any thing new [*a*]. But if *Joſephus* had dreamt of what Sir *Iſaac*, you ſay, *has now diſcovered*, how readily could he have anſwered, that the Charge was ſo far from being true, that he could demonſtrate the Jews to be the very *Authors and Inventors*, not onely of *Letters and Writing*, but of all other *Arts and Sciences* in the World; and to have had the actual Uſe and Poſſeſſion of them for at leaſt five hundred Years before they were known in *Ægypt*: Which tho' contrary to *Scripture* and the Teſtimony of all *Hiſtory*, is yet the neceſſary Conſequence of what you call Sir *Iſaac's Demonſtrations*.

Thus, inſtead of expoſing the *Falſhood of my Hiſtorical Facts*, as you had undertaken in your *Title Page*, you have expoſed nothing at laſt but your own Ignorance both of *Sacred and Profane Antiquity*; for to thoſe who have any Acquaintance with either, 'tis impoſſible to place the *Origin of Letters and Arts in Ægypt*, ſo low as *Solomon's time*.

But you inſult me ſtill further with Sir *Iſaac's Diſcoveries*, and charge me with two Miſtakes

[*a*] Οθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προφερόμενον ἡμῖν ὑπό τινων ἔγκλημα, τὸ δὴ μὴ καινῶν ἐυρετὰς, &c. Joſ. ibid. c. 20.

more,

more, made in open Defiance of them: Firſt, for affirming the *Golden Calf made by Aaron to be nothing elſe but the Ægyptian God Apis.* Whereas Sir *Iſaac*, you ſay, *has* proved, that *Apis was no other Perſon than Seſoſtris or Shiſac, who reigned in the Days of Solomon* [*a*]. 'Tis ſtrange, that I muſt not be thought *Orthodox* here, where I have the Concurrence of all the beſt Writers both *Ancient and Modern* to ſupport my Opinion [*b*]. *Philo* tells us, *that they turned the Abſence of Moſes to an occaſion of Impiety, and forgetful of the true God, ſet themſelves to copy the ſilly Fictions of Ægypt, and having made a Golden Calf after the Pattern of an Animal eſteemed the moſt ſacred in that Country, they offered impious Sacrifices, accompanied with abominable dancing and ſinging* [*c*]. Which, as all Men of Learning obſerve, are the very Inſtances of the Worſhip paid to the *God Apis* [*d*]. *Monſieur Rollin*, in his ſhort Hiſtory of the *Ancient Ægyptians*, ſays, *that the Golden Calf ſet up by the Iſraelites, was the effect of their Abode in Ægypt, and an*

[*a*] Reply, p. 46. [*b*] Hanç opinionem adſtruit Philo, Targum Hieroſolymitanum, Lactantius, Hieronymus, Kircherus, Bochartus, & Auctores ab eo citati, quibus accedit Grotius, &c. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. 1. p. 21.

[*c*] Philo de Vita Moſ. p. 677.

[*d*] Probatione id non indiget; cum & ritus in conflando vitulo adhibiti, tripudia, convivia chori, &c. id ſatis ſuperque demonſtrent—Kircher. Oedip. Ægyp. T. 1, p. 300. It. Spenc. ib.

Imitation

Imitation of their God Apis, as well as thoſe which were afterwards ſet up by Jeroboam [*a*]. And a Proteſtant Author quoted above, who never allows any thing that an orthodox Man can poſſibly deny, yet owns, that it was *in Imitation of the Ægyptian Apis, that the Golden Calf was made in the Wilderneſs* [*b*].

But *ſhould we admit*, you ſay, that the *Ægyptian Apis was worſhipped as early, as I repreſent it, yet there are no grounds from Scripture Story to conclude, that the Golden Calf in the Wilderneſs had any Reference to that Worſhip:* Or that the *God or Gods which the Jews intended to worſhip under that Image, were any Ægyptian Gods* [*c*]. Now this ſhews the little Acquaintance you have with Scripture, as well as the little Attention you pay to Reaſon and the Senſe of Things: The *Iſraelites* had no ſooner got clear of the *Ægyptians*, than they fell to the making and worſhipping of *Idols:* The Queſtion is, what *ſort of Idols* it was, that they were ſo fond of worſhipping: And does not Senſe and Reaſon, and even Neceſſity teach us that they could be no other, than what they had been ſo long acquainted with, and wor-

[*a*] See Antient Hiſt. of the Ægyp. done into Engl. p. 42.

[*b*] Itaque credibile eſt jam antiquiùs tempore Iſraelitarum fuiſſe Idolum, cujus imitamine vitulum in deſerto fecerunt—Leidek. de Rep. Hebr. p. 150.

[*c*] Reply, p. 47.

ſhipping

ſlipping for about two hundred Years before? For the learned *Spencer* has ſhewn, that during their Abode in *Ægypt*, they complied with *all the Cuſtoms and Idolatry of the Country* [*a*]. But *there's no ground*, you ſay, *from Scripture Story to make this Concluſion:* This is ſtill ſtranger, that one who undertakes to defend *Scripture* with ſuch Gravity, ſhould betray ſo great an Ignorance of *Scripture Story:* For nothing is more clear and certain or more frequently inculcated in *Scripture Story*, than that the *Idolatry*, by which they ſo oft provoked God to puniſh them, and their Leaders and Prophets to reproach them, was ſuch as *their Fathers had learnt and practiſed in Ægypt*. To give an Inſtance or two out of many.

Joſhua, a little before his Death, very pathetically exhorts them, *to put away the Gods, which their Fathers ſerved on the other ſide of the Flood and in Ægypt* [*b*]. And when they were in Poſſeſſion of the promiſed Land, the ſame Inclination to the *Idols of Ægypt* ſtill continued, as we find by the Reproofs of all the *Prophets*, on this very Account. *Then ſaid I unto them, caſt ye away every Man the Abominations of his Eyes, and defile not your ſelves with the Idols of Ægypt. But they rebelled againſt me—neither did they forſake the Idols of Ægypt* [*c*]. All

[*a*] De Leg. Hebr. l. 1. p. 20.
[*b*] Joſh. xxiv. 14. [*c*] Ezek. xix. 7, 8.

which

which is confirmed again by the Teſtimony of St. *Stephen*, if that have any weight with you, who mentions this very Caſe of the *Golden Calf*, as an Example and Proof of *their turning back again in their Hearts into Ægypt* [*a*].

The *ſecond Miſtake* you urge me with on this Head, is for aſſerting *Kircher to have ſhewn, that Hieroglyphicks or the ſacred Characters of Ægypt were invented and uſed before Moſes's Time.* But Sir *Iſaac*, you ſay, *has ſhewn the contrary; that Thoth, the reputed Inventor of thoſe Hieroglyphicks was Contemporary with Seſoſtris or Shiſac, who plundered the Temple of Jeruſalem in the Reign of Rehoboam: And that Moſes therefore could not borrow, as I intimate, the Hieroglyphick of the Serpent from the Ægyptians* [*b*]. And here the Reader will obſerve another remarkable Inſtance of what I have more than once mentioned, *viz.* your raſh and partial way of forming your Notions from *Scraps* and *ſeparate Quotations*, without conſidering with any Care the very Authors you moſt admire. For tho' Sir *Iſaac* aſſerts *Thoth*, who lived according to his Account in the time of *Solomon*, to have been *the Inventor of common Letters and Writing* [*c*], yet he is ſo far from aſcribing to him the Invention of *Hieroglyphicks*, that he declares in expreſs terms, that the *Hieroglyphical way of*

[*a*] Act. vii. 39.
[*b*] Reply, p. 48.
[*c*] Newt. Chron. p. 210.

writing

writing ſeems to have ſpread into lower Ægypt before the Days of Moſes, and that ſome Reference is made to it in the ſecond Commandment, which prohibits the worſhipping of God under the Shape of Birds, Beaſts and Fiſhes [*a*].

I ſhall conclude this Article with a Paſſage from Dr. *Spencer*, who has examined this Queſtion with more Diligence, and treated it with more Learning and Judgment than any Man. *The myſtical way of Writing in uſe with the Ægyptians, bears much Reſemblance*, ſays he, *to that of the Hebrews.* This he confirms by the Authority of *Franciſcus Valeſius*, and *Clemens of Alexandria*, and then ſubjons the following Remark. *Whence comes it then, that this Ænigmatical Stile of the Ægyptians and the Hebrews is found ſo exactly alike; but that God had ſo contrived his Law and its ſacred Rites, that they might ſuit, as far as was poſſible, the Taſte and Uſage of that Age? For no Man who has any good Judgment can think, that the Ægyptians were in this Caſe the Diſciples and Followers of the Jews; ſince 'tis allowed on all hands, that the Hieroglyphical Literature was ancienter than Moſes, and that the Ægyptians long before his Time uſed to cover their ſacred Doctrines under the Veil of Symbols and Myſtical Figures* [*b*].

[*a*] Ibid. p. 225.

[*b*] De Legib. Heb. L. 1. c. 15. p. 211, 212.

And thus, Sir, after all Sir *Iſaac's Demonſtrations*, and your Deſcant upon them, I ſhall once more venture to affirm, *that Ægypt was in Moſes's Time a great and flouriſhing Kingdom, a learned and polite Nation.*

The laſt *Hiſtorical Fact*, you take notice of, *advanced*, as you ſay [*a*], *againſt the Truth*, is *the Confuſion of Languages at Babel.* But how is this a Fact of my advancing? I have indeed made an Obſervation or two on the common way of explaining it; and 'tis this you conteſt with me, contrary to your own Declaration; not the *Fact* itſelf, but *my Reaſoning* about it. Which ſhews, as I've already hinted, the low Shifts you are put to, to blow up the Envy and Clamour you would raiſe againſt me.

And here I muſt again put the Reader in mind, that I am far from forming, as you call it, any *peremptory Judgment againſt the Moſaic Story of Babel* [*b*]. All that I attempted in *my Letter*, was to ſhew the Raſhneſs and Imprudence of Dr. *Waterland*'s way of defending it, in denying all *manner of probability* or *colour of Reaſon* to any Objections that could be made to it: And as I have proved againſt the *Doctor* and yourſelf, that the *diſperſion of Mankind* and *peopling of the World*, muſt of courſe be the

[*a*] Rep. p. 51. [*b*] Rep. p. 52.

certain

certain and neceſſary effect of an *encreaſing Multitude*, flowing from the Reaſon and Nature of Things, excluſive of any *Miracle or the extraordinary Interpoſition of God*; ſo what I pretend to ſhew now, is, that the *Variety of Languages* may with *ſome colour of Reaſon and Probability* be accounted for too in the ſame way, as the natural and neceſſary Conſequence of ſuch Diſperſion.

Let's conſider Mankind in its infant State, as yet but one Family, tho' daily growing and encreaſing ſo faſt, as to be forced in Proportion to that Encreaſe to break off and ſeparate from each other into ſeveral Parties or Colonies in queſt of freſh Quarters and Proviſions. That this muſt needs be the caſe of ſuch a Multitude has already been ſhewn from the Nature of Things; and 'twas from the ſame Neceſſity of Nature, that the *Nations of the Earth were divided or peopled*, as the *Scripture* ſays, *by the Sons of Noah* [*a*].

Now as this Diſperſion muſt have happened, whilſt Mankind was yet rude and barbarous, unacquainted with Arts and Sciences, and even the common Inventions and Conveniencies of Life; ſo the Production of ſuch Arts, the Improvement of Knowledge and Science, and the new Demands of Life daily ariſing muſt neceſ-

[*a*] Gen. x. 32.

ſarily

ſarily produce a *new Language* in each ſingle Nation or ſeparate People, unknown in a great meaſure to the reſt of their Fellow Creatures. For as Names are generally but arbitrary Signs, not drawn from the Nature or Qualities of the Things themſelves, but formed by Fancy or Accident and confirmed by Uſe; ſo every thing new muſt neceſſarily create not onely a new Name, but a different one too from what the ſame thing, when invented, would obtain in a different People.

And thus a Difference of Languages being once eſtabliſhed, the Mixture and Compoſition of ſeveral of them together, which follows of courſe from Conqueſts and the familiar Intercourſe of different Nations, is another inexhauſtible Source and Cauſe of multiplying that ſame Variety; juſt as the various changing and mixing the different Sounds of Bells produce an infinite Variation and Diſtinction of their Muſick.

This ſhort Hint of the *Origin of Languages* may ſuffice to ſhew the Folly of your aſſerting it to be *impoſſible, that there could have been ſuch a Variety of them in the World, unleſs from ſome ſuch Confuſion as happened at Babel* [*a*]. The Reaſon you alledge for that *Impoſſibility* is trifling, without any Foundation in Fact or Truth:

[*a*] Reply, p. 52.

For

For you ſay, that if no ſuch Miracle had happened, the *things which are of moſt common uſe in Life, and which all Men are every Day ſpeaking of, could never have come in different Languages to be expreſſed by Words, which have not the leaſt Affinity with one another.* But do not we ſee the ſame thing to have actually happened in all the modern Languages of the World, that are as it were but of Yeſterday's riſe and ſtanding; that by mixing and blending the Sounds of concurring Nations *new Names* have been formed for the *moſt neceſſary Things of Life*, as well as the moſt obvious Parts of the Body?

One Part of *Italy* anciently called the *Mouth*, *Stoma*; the other Part, *Os:* now all call it *Bocca*; in French *Bouche.*

One Part called the *Eye*, *Ophthalmus*; the other *Oculus:* all now call it *Occhio*; in French *Oeil.*

One Part called the *Ear*, *Ouar*; the other *Auris:* all now *Orecchio*; in French *Oreille*, &c.

Now the grand Queſtion you aſk is, What *could tempt Men to create new Words, where they had old ones before, eſpecially in things of common uſe, whoſe Names were every Day in every Man's Mouth?* The Anſwer is very eaſy: It was the natural and neceſſary Mutability of all human

Things, that forced them by degrees to change their *old Words* for the more prevailing Sounds of ſuch People, as had then got the Superiority or principal Rule in the Country; an Effect that will always follow the ſame Cauſe: And ſhould *Italy* or *France* be again conquered by *Barbarians*, *Tartars*, *Turks*, &c. a *new Language* would neceſſarily ariſe from ſuch an Event; and *new Names* for the moſt common Things of Life, neither *Barbarian* nor *Italian*, but a Jumble and Mixture of both.

And thus, Sir, I have gone thro' all your Cavils to *my Letter*, without finding the leaſt Proof or Overt-act of the *Infidelity* you charge me with, beſides my daring to differ from Dr. *Waterland and yourſelf* about the Mode of explaining ſome Circumſtances of the *Moſaic Hiſtory*. One great Part of the *Letter* you make ſo free with is employed in Defence of the *Chriſtian Religion* againſt *Infidelity*; on ſuch a Plan as I then thought and ſtill think the moſt effectual to confute the Author I had to do with, and expoſe the Vanity of thoſe Principles by which he hopes to overturn Chriſtianity: And as *our Saviour himſelf*, when charged abſurdly with the *caſting out of Devils by the Power of the Devil*, ſhews the Folly of that Calumny by one plain Obſervation, that *a Houſe divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand*; ſo 'tis ſilly and abſurd to imagine, that I ſhould take ſuch Pains to deſtroy the Credit of a Writer, who

who deſerves ſo well of *Infidels*, had I been of the Number myſelf, or inclined to liſt into that Service. But I am ſo far from favouring *Infidelity*, that I ſhould be heartily glad to ſee an Anſwer to *Chriſtianity as Old* &c. on a better Plan and Foundation than what I have propoſed: But as I am very certain, that this has not yet been done by Dr. *Waterland*; ſo I am as ſure, by the Specimen you have given us, that it can never be done by yourſelf.

As I am a ſtranger to your Name and Character, and have no other Light to form a Judgment of you by, but the Merit of the Piece I have been examining; ſo your injurious and inſolent manner of treating me in that Piece, as an *Infidel and an Enemy to Chriſtianity*; a *wilful Depraver of Facts and Quotations*, will fully juſtify any Freedom or Severity of Expreſſion I may have uſed in this neceſſary Defence of myſelf; in which, however, if I have done you any Injuſtice, I ſhall always be ready, upon better Information and Acquaintance with you, to make you all the Amends and Satisfaction, that can be required from one, who in this, as well as every other Controverſy, he may be engaged in, profeſſes to have no other Motive, View or Intention whatſoever, than to ſearch freely and impartially for the Truth.

SOME
REMARKS
ON A
REPLY
TO THE
DEFENCE of the LETTER
TO
Dr. *WATERLAND.*

Wherein the Author's Sentiments, as to all the principal Points in Diſpute, are fully and clearly explained in the Manner that has been promiſed.

The Intendment of my Diſcourſe is, that Permiſſion ſhould be in Queſtions ſpeculative, indeterminable, curious and unneceſſary; and that Men would not make more Neceſſities than God made: which indeed are not many. The Fault I find and ſeek to remedy is, that Men are ſo dogmatical and reſolute in their Opinions, and impatient of others Diſagreeings in thoſe Things, wherein are no ſufficient Means of Union and Determination: but that Men ſhould let Opinions and Problems keep their own Forms, and not be obtruded as Actions; nor Queſtions in the vaſt Collection of the Syſtem of Divinity be adopted into the Family of Faith: and I think I have Reaſon to deſire this.

Taylor Lib. of Propheſ. Ep. Dedic. *p.* 12.

SOME

REMARKS

ON A

REPLY

TO THE

DEFENCE of the LETTER

TO

Dr. *WATERLAND.*

SIR,

YOU begin *your Reply* by obſerving; *that it was near twelve months before the Defence of my Letter appeared in print:* yet you make *no exceptions*, you ſay, *to the length of time.* To what purpoſe then do you ſet out with an obſervation ſo impertinent? Why; to introduce another much more ſo; *that a longer time would have paſt, before you could have prevailed with your ſelf to have publiſhed ſuch a Defence.* And for that matter, you need not be in any pain; every reader, I dare ſay, will allow it; that had you taken *twice twelve months*, it would not have been in your power to have produced *ſuch an one.*

The next paragraph gives us a taſte of *your vanity*; for you cannot hold out *ten lines*, without informing the reader, that you have forced me to *recant and plead guilty* to the charge of a *falſe quotation*: and leſt it ſhould be forgotten, you repeat it a few pages after, and once more *renew your triumph* over me [*a*]. And here, whatever credit it gives you, or whatever ſhame it brings to myſelf, I muſt confeſs it to be true; that I have *recanted*, and *owned myſelf guilty of quoting falſly*, as you ſay, or as others will think, *too negligently*, in one inſtance: and had it been proved upon me in many more, would have owned it as readily: nor am I deſirous to give any check to your pleaſure, by obſerving, that it was in a point of no conſequence; for had it been of much greater, I ſhould have retracted the more freely: the onely uſe I ſhall make of it, is to ſhew the difference of your conduct and mine on this occaſion: for, pray Sir, what is it in this controverſy that you have retracted? Have you in any one inſtance *pleaded guilty*, or owned yourſelf confuted? No, you *inſiſt upon it, that you have advanced nothing raſhly in your whole Reply* [*b*]; *that you have made good every ſingle inſtance of falſhood charged upon me.*

As to the truth of what you *inſiſt upon*; we ſhall be better able to judge of it by and by:

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 25. [*b*] Ibid. p. 3, 4.

in

in the mean while, as I am here conſidering the difference of your temper and mine, as to *pleading guilty* on fair conviction; I ſhall out of many inſtances, produce onely *three* or *four*, in which you ought at leaſt to have *pleaded guilty*; for if you have the Learning you pretend to, you muſt know yourſelf to be confuted; if the love of Truth and Religion, muſt know it your duty to confeſs it.

1. I had produced in *my Letter* a teſtimony of St. *Stephen*, to prove that the *Ægyptians were poſſeſſed of learning in Moſes's time* [*a*]. This teſtimony you treated with *ſuch raſhneſs*, as gave me occaſion to charge you with overturning the very Foundations and *betraying the very Citadel of Revealed Religion* [*b*]; by ſuppoſing that a perſon *full of the Holy Ghoſt*, and under the *actual influence of a Divine Spirit*, could poſſibly affert any thing *erroneous*: and in this I was ſupported by the expreſs declaration of Dr. *Waterland* himſelf, whoſe Defence you had undertaken.

Now what do you reply to this? Why, nothing at all directly; but mutter onely ſomewhat in a *parentheſis* [*c*]; as if St. *Stephen*, *when filled with the Holy Ghoſt, might yet conſiſtently affirm what was falſe of facts, that have*

[*a*] Letter, p. 23. [*b*] Defence, p. 71.
[*c*] Reply to Defence, p. 81.

no

no relation to the Chriſtian doctrine. Which is to allow in effect, that he might be *full of the Holy Ghoſt*, and *full of error*; *full of truth*, and *full of falſhood* too at the ſame time: a poſition, which *no Chriſtian* will preſume to defend; and which if I had but darkly hinted, the uſual titles of *Freethinker* and *Infidel* would have been thought too ſoft for me. As in the caſe then of St. *Stephen*, all people were ſcandalized at *your raſhneſs*; ſo your conduct would have been more edifying to the lovers of *Truth and Religion*, and more ſuitable to the zeal you pretend for both, had you endeavoured to repair *that Scandal*, by acknowledging your *error*, and *pleading guilty* to it; and not, thro' a *falſe pride and vanity*, which every man muſt contemn, ſought to bear down all before you, *by inſiſting, that you have advanced nothing raſhly.*

2. As to the fact itſelf, of the *learning and politeneſs of the* Ægyptians *in* Moſes's *time:* after all your cry againſt me for *the falſhood of my hiſtorical facts*, it proved at laſt the *onely one*, in which you attempted to fix that charge upon me, by the help of what you call *Sir* Iſaac Newton's *demonſtrations and diſcoveries*; where he has, as you declare, *demonſtrated my notions to be falſe* [*a*]. In anſwer to this I have evinced the truth of my opinion ſo undeniably, from the teſtimony of *all hiſtory*, both *ſacred and*

[*a*] Reply, p. 45.

prophane;

profane; that every reader, I dare ſay, is convinced of it, and you yourſelf in fact allow it, by *leaving me in poſſeſſion of the queſtion* [*a*]. But you do it with ſo ill a grace, with ſo much reluctance and ſhuffling about it, as takes off all the credit of *a liberal and ingenuous* conceſſion. For after you had *raſhly* advanced *the authority of Sir* Iſaac above *Scripture* itſelf, which cannot poſſibly be true, unleſs his *Demonſtrations*, as you call them, be falſe; inſtead of taking any blame to yourſelf, you throw it all upon me, for expoſing that raſhneſs and defending Scripture: for you labour to raiſe a clamour and envy againſt me for *inſulting Sir* Iſaac; and with your *uſual rhetorick* movingly exclaim, *how low is the great* Newton *fallen! how ignorant in your opinion!* I have already declared my opinion of him to be *as great*, as I can poſſibly have of any *mortal:* yet the honour I have for his name muſt not deprive me of the privilege of judging for myſelf in all queſtions, that I am capable of underſtanding; and of thinking differently even from Sir *Iſaac*, or any man elſe, as oft as the force of reaſons obliges me.

You diſmiſs the queſtion by aſſuring me, that *whenever I ſhall be inclined to treat it more fully, there ſhall not want one, who will attempt to do juſtice to Sir* Iſaac's *proofs*; and with this

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 42.

promiſe

promiſe you *leave me*, as you ſay, *in poſſeſſion of it*. But is not this a poor childiſh evaſion; the ſtale ſhift of thoſe, who having nothing to ſay or give, refer themſelves to another time? Will the reader believe, that you would have *left me in poſſeſſion* of any thing, you could have wreſted from me? much leſs of a queſtion, which bears the greateſt ſhew of Learning, of any in the Controverſy; and of that *ſingle hiſtorical Fact*, which you have charged me *with falſifying*? If you had any real intention *to do juſtice to Sir* Iſaac's *proofs*, why did you not do it here; when it was your buſineſs to do it, when you were challenged to do it? I have entered fully and freely into an examination of them; have produced all I had to offer on the ſubject; which, however *ſlight* you declare it to be, will be thought by every body elſe ſufficient and effectual to confute you: nay, what's worſe; you plainly diſcover, that you think ſo yourſelf; and ſtand condemned in your own mind, and puniſhed by a *ſilly pride*, that will not give you leave to own yourſelf in the wrong.

3. You charged me *in your Reply* [*a*], with *falſly aſſerting the Golden Calf in the Wilderneſs to have been made in imitation of the* Ægyptian Apis; and affirmed withal, that there was *no ground in Scripture-ſtory* for my notion [*b*].

[*a*] Reply, p. 46. [*b*] Ibid, p. 47.

In

In anſwer to which I obſerved, that the God *Apis* was worſhipped in the *ſame form*, and with the *ſame ceremonies* as the *Golden Calf*; and that I had with me the concurrence of all the learned, who had touched this queſtion, as well as of the *moſt zealous and orthodox defenders* of Chriſtianity. And from *Scripture-ſtory* I ſhewed; that the *Idolatry*, by which the *Iſraelites* ſo often provoked God, is ſaid to be ſuch as *their Fathers had learned and practiſed in* Ægypt; that the Idols they were fond of, even at the time of making the *Golden Calf*, are deſcribed as *Ægyptian ones*; and that St. *Stephen* alledges this very caſe of the *Calf*, as an inſtance of their *turning back in their hearts into* Ægypt [*a*]. Now can there be *any greater raſhneſs* in a *Scholar*, than roundly to deny what men of learning from the reaſon of the thing and the teſtimony of hiſtory have been obliged to aſſert? Can there be *any greater* in a *Divine*, than to affirm, that *there is no ground in Scripture-ſtory*, for what is ſo clearly confirmed by *many texts of Scripture?*

What then have you ſaid to this in *your Reply?* Why, without giving any anſwer to *my Authorities*, or any other account of my *Scripture texts*; without alledging any *new* Reaſons, or confuting the *old* ones; you ſtick firm to

[*a*] Defence, p. 83, 84. *See* Jerem ii. 18. Ezek. xvi. 26. xxiii. 3, 8.

your

your point, and tell us plainly, that what you before ſaid, *you ſtill aſſert, that there are no grounds from Scripture-ſtory, to think the Golden Calf to have been made in imitation of the* Ægyptian Apis [*a*]. How is it poſſible to deal with ſuch a Writer, whoſe maxim, as oft as confuted, is to *aſſert ſtill, and inſiſt that he has advanced nothing raſhly?*

4. But the next inſtance is ſtill the moſt flagrant. In *your Reply to my Letter, you will mention*, you ſay, *but one miſtake more of mine under this article:* very modeſt truly, to mention *but one*, where with the ſame truth you might have mentioned *twenty*. The miſtake is; that I had aſſerted on the authority of the learned, that *Hieroglyphicks or ſacred Characters were uſed in* Ægypt *before* Moſes: whereas you affirm, *Sir* Iſaac *to have ſhewn that they were not ſo much as invented till the reign of* Rehoboam [*b*]. To this I anſwered, that Sir *Iſaac* was ſo far from having ſhewn what you affirmed of him, that he had directly ſhewn the contrary; had expreſly allowed the very thing I aſſerted, that *Hieroglyphicks were in uſe in the days of* Moſes [*c*].

And what have you *replied* to this? not *one ſyllable*. But will not every one reflect on what

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 43. [*b*] Reply, p. 48.
[*c*] Defence, p. 87.

you

You ought to have *replied?* Ought you not to have recalled the miſtake, *ſo raſhly* charged on me, and taken it to yourſelf? and the more readily, for being ſo groſs an one? Ought you not rather to have done any thing than *aſſert* and *inſiſt* with ſuch aſſurance that you *had advanced nothing raſhly*; that *every ſingle inſtance of falſhood was made good againſt me* [*a*]? 'Tis ſuch perverſeneſs and diſingenuity as this that confirms men in *Scepticiſm*, inſtead of convincing them; by *inſiſting* for ever on exploded nonſenſe and cramming down people's throats what all men of ſenſe muſt nauſeate. Is it poſſible after this to expect any thing candid or impartial from you in the way of argument? no, we ſhall not be deceived; you preſerve a true unity of character through your whole performance: 'tis all of a piece; equal and uniform to itſelf from one end to the other:

——*Servatur ad imum,*
Qualis ab incepto proceſſerit, & ſibi conſtat.

To illuſtrate it a little farther:

The deſign of *your Reply*, as 'tis declared by yourſelf, was to ſet forth the *falſhood of my Quotations and Hiſtorical Facts*: and your very *Title Page and Introduction* prepared us to expect that you would make good your charge againſt *them all.* Yet I obſerved, that when you came

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 4.

to

to the particulars, all you attempted to cavil at were *fifteen out of fourſcore*; and that even *two* of that number had *no reference to any quotation at all.* Let's juſt conſider, what you have *replied* to this. As to the *two inſtances* I exclude from your *liſt* you are content, it ſeems, to exclude them too and *change the name if I do not like it* [*a*]: but why then were they added to the *account of Quotations*, when they had no relation to it, unleſs to enflame and enhance a *falſe charge?* You ſay withal, that you did not intend to attack *all my Quotations*, but *my original ones onely* [*b*]. And by the inſtances you give, one would imagine, that by *original*, you mean *Latin* and *Greek* ones: as if my *Engliſh quotations*, which you do not meddle with, were not as truly *original* as thoſe taken from *Herodotus.* But you define more diſtinctly your ſenſe of *original ones*; telling us, that they are ſuch, as I have not taken *at ſecond hand on the authority of other writers*; *for you never meant to charge me with ſecond hand Quotations, knowing that if they are falſe, the Authors I take them from are anſwerable for the falſhood of them.* Why then do you charge me with one drawn from *Maimonides*, on the *authority of* Spencer; and which *Spencer*, you ſay, *took from* Buxtorf [*c*]? Is not this by your own definition *doubly a ſecond handed one?* Why do

[*a*] Reply to Def. p. 32. [*b*] Ib. p. 6.
[*c*] Ib. p. 28.

you

you charge to my account likewiſe [*a*] another taken from *the Rabbins*, on the *authority of* Lightfoot? Is not this too *a ſecond hand Quotation?* So that *your Reply* in this caſe, as in moſt others, is ſo ſhuffling and inconſiſtent, as ſhews you determined at all adventures rather to defend every thing *raſhly*, than yield up any thing *ingenuouſly*.

'Tis not worth while to follow you again thro' all the cavils of *your firſt Reply*, which you now repeat and inſiſt on in *your ſecond*. A Controverſy would be the buſineſs of life, if we muſt treat it at this rate, and dwell for ever on the ſame facts. I have already ſaid enough on each, and am content to leave the merit of it to the judgment of the reader: however, to ſhew you that I have no other reaſon for declining any debate or argument you offer but meerly to ſave time and cut ſhort unneceſſary ſquabbles, I ſhall run over again with you *two or three* of your inſtances, where you fancy yourſelf the ſtrongeſt, or have added ſome *new force* to your former exceptions.

You urge then afreſh in *your ſecond Reply*, with regard to what I have quoted from *Cicero*; *that* Cicero's *true Sentiments are not to be found under the character of his Academic Speakers* [*b*]: and tell us withal, *that it was on this very*

[*a*] Ib. p. 30. [*b*] Reply to Defence, p. 8.

Article that the Author of the Diſcourſe on Free-thinking received ſuch chaſtiſement from Philoleutherus Lipſienſis, *that you never expected to ſee any one ſo ventureſome, as to aſſert the ſame thing again.* And I readily allow, that the *Free-thinker* you mention received a very proper correction from *Philoleutherus Lipſienſis*; whoſe great learning likewiſe I am as ready as yourſelf to acknowledge: but I aſſure you, Sir, that at the time of writing *My Letter*, I did not recollect what either of thoſe Authors had ſaid on the Subject; but uſed on this, as on all other occaſions, the right I claim of judging for myſelf: yet I am apt to think, that the *Learned Writer* we are ſpeaking of, either does not inſiſt ſo much, as you imagine, on what he has advanced, or thinks it at leaſt conſiſtent with the uſe I make of *Cicero*, from the principle he himſelf lays down; *that the reaſoning is the ſame, from whatever quarter it comes, and the Authority not the leſs, though transferred from* Cicero *to a Stoic* [*a*]; for 'tis very credibly reported, that on reading *My Letter to Dr. Waterland*, before any name had been mentioned of the ſuppoſed Author, he did in very ſtrong terms expreſs his approbation of it.

But to return to the queſtion: *Cicero* is allowed on all hands to have been a *profeſſed and*

[*a*] Remarks on Diſcourſe of Freethinking, Part II. p. 78.

ſincere

ſincere follower of the Academy: this he declares, in every part of his Works, and owns himſelf indebted for all the *Talents and Abilities* he was maſter of, to the precepts and principles of *that Philoſophy*. Where then are we to look for his *real Sentiments* on any queſtion; but where that queſtion is treated profeſſedly and elaborately according to *the principles and maxims of the Academy*? This is the caſe in his *ſecond Book of Divination*, where he diſputes in his own perſon, and where he declares, that the *chief purpoſe of that Diſputation was to explode Superſtition: as it was likewiſe in his other Book of the Nature of the Gods* [*a*]; which is not applicable to any other part in *this Book*, but that onely, which *Cotta* ſuſtains. Dr. *W.* tells us, *that* Tully's *Diſputants* in theſe *very Books, De natura Deorum, & de Divinatione, debate in good earneſt, and repreſent the ſenſe of the ſeveral contending parties to the beſt advantage* [*b*]. And if ſo, then the Sentiments affirmed by *Cotta*, muſt be conſidered as the Sentiments of *Cicero* himſelf, as they were the Senſe of the *Academic party repreſented to the beſt advantage*.

And as to the declaration, thath *Cicero* makes in the end of *this Dialogue* in favour of the *Stoicks*; I am ſtill of opinion, that it may be conſidered as *a compliment to* Brutus, to

[*a*] De Div. l. 2. cap. ult.
[*b*] Script. Vind. Part II. p. 7.

whom this very Book is addreſſed; by giving a ſlight preference to *his Philoſophy*; tho' himſelf at the ſame time *really followed and preferred* another kind [*a*]. But this, you call *ſtrange*, and wonder how I can ſuppoſe Cicero *to have complimented with ſuch inſincerity* [*b*]. But 'tis more *ſtrange*, to hear a man of gravity talking ſo childiſhly. For what is it, I would know, that you take *Cicero* to have been? Some *Bigot perhaps in Religion*; who reckoned it a point of Conſcience, not to depart a tittle from the rigour of his principles: or ſome *Pedant in Letters*; who thought it a diminution to his character, not to aſſert on all occaſions the ſupreme prerogative of his own judgment. No Sir, I impute no *inſincerity to him*, but what is ſuitable to his high merit and character, ſuch as would diſpoſe him, for the eaſe and politeneſs of converſation, not to inſiſt always on the ſtrictneſs of his Sentiments, but to yield up ſomewhat even of his own perſuaſion, to do a civility or pleaſure to his Friend. A behaviour, which, however *ſtrange* to you, will hardly do him diſcredit with any body elſe.

But the words I quoted are ſo far, you ſay, from giving *Cicero's opinion*, that they do not ſo much as repreſent *Cotta*'s who ſpeaks them:

[*a*] Quod genus Philoſophiæ minime arrogans maximèque & conſtans & elegans arbitraremur, quatuor Academicis libris oſtendimus, *de Div. l.* 2. 1.

[*b*] Reply to Defence, p. 10.

This

This notion I have already treated as it deſerves [*a*]: but you inſiſt upon it again, and enforce it by a new proof, drawn from what *Cotta* in the cloſe of his argument ſays to *his Antagoniſt*; *facile me a te vinci poſſe, certò ſcio.* From which you infer, that Cotta's *approbation of the Sentiments he had been aſſerting, is inconſiſtent with the declaration he makes of his knowing for certain that* Balbus *could confute him* [*b*]. And here again you fall into the ſame miſtake of treating *a mere compliment*, as if it were a *ſolemn and categorical* affirmation. *A mere compliment*, I ſay; which every body who knows any thing of good manners or good ſenſe will ſee at once to be ſuch: though 'tis, I'm perſuaded, *ſuch an one*, as you will never make, of allowing any man *able to confute you. Cotta*, in cloſing his argument, throws it into the hands of *Balbus*, in a polite manner, by declaring, that *he knew it to be in his power to confute him with eaſe:* A civil turn of expreſſion; very common on all occaſions of eaſy debate, whether publick or private: yet you argue from *the ſtrict ſenſe* of the words, as if *Cotta* were declaring his *ſtrict Sentiments:* in which you contradict the very authority you follow, of *Phileleutherus* himſelf, who ſays, that in this very *Book of the Nature of the Gods, none of the diſputants concede*; all ſtand firm to their principles [*d*]. Beſides; whilſt you

[*a*] Defence, p. 10. [*b*] Reply to Defence, p. 11.
[*d*] Remarks on Diſcourſe of Freethink. Part II. p. 73.

lay ſo much ſtreſs on theſe words, and aſſert them *ſtrictly* to bear, that *Cotta knew for certain*, &c. you forget what you had allowed the page before, that it was the peculiar character of the *Academy to know nothing for certain.*

Again; to ſhew that the part aſſigned to *Cotta* did in fact contain *Cicero's real Sentiments*, I obſerved, that in his *ſecond Book of Divination, where he diſputes in his own perſon, he takes the ſame ſide and uſes the ſame arguments, to confute the opinions of the* Stoics *about Religion and Divination* [*a*]. And here, after puzzling a while to find out my meaning, you ſuppoſe it at laſt to be, that *Cicero in this Book had diſputed againſt Religion:* which you affirm *to be falſe*, and produce *Cicero's own words* to prove it [*b*]. But whatever you affirm, or whatever you take *Cicero* to mean, I here again declare; that *Cicero in his ſecond Book of Divination diſputes againſt Religion*, as it was explained and underſtood by the *Stoicks*; who held *Divination* to be an *eſſential and principal part* of it. *If there are Gods, there is Divination*, was fundamental with them; as you might have learnt from *Cicero* himſelf, who calls this very Article, *the fortreſs or citadel of the Stoical Religion* [*c*]. And to diſpute againſt *Divination*

[*a*] Defence, p. 9. [*b*] Reply to Defence, p. 9.

[*c*] Arcem tu quidem Stoicorum, Quinte, defendis, ſi quidem iſta ſic reciprocantur, ut &, ſi divinatio ſit, Dii ſint, & ſi Dii ſint, ſit divinatio, *de Div. l.* II. 6.

was

was not onely to diſpute againſt *the Religion of the Stoicks*, but againſt the *popular or eſtabliſhed Religion too*; which, as every one knows, was founded on the ſuppoſition of *the truth of Divination*, and moſt of *its offices and ceremonies* inſtituted on that ſole foundation, which muſt of courſe fall to the ground, were *Divination* taken away [*a*].

But how then, you'll ſay, are we to underſtand *Cicero*, when he declares in this ſame Book, that he has no deſign *to take away Religion?* Very eaſily; by conſidering him onely as talking like a *Philoſopher:* that though he was confuting the *ſuperſtitious notions of the* Stoicks, yet he did not mean by that to deſtroy *the Religion of Reaſon and Nature*, founded in the belief *of a God and his Providence:* and though he declared for preſerving *the Rites and Ceremonies eſtabliſhed by their Anceſtors*; yet it was for reaſons of policy, and the ends of government onely; not that he thought them any part of *the true and rational Religion*, which men of ſenſe ought to follow [*b*].

[*a*] Cum omnis populi Romani religio in Sacra & in Auſpicia diviſa ſit; tertium adjunctum ſit, ſi quid prædictionis cauſa ex portentis & monſtris Sybillæ interpretes, Haruſpicesve monuerunt, *Nat. Deor.* 3. 2.

[*b*] Nam & majorum inſtituta tueri ſacris cæremoniiſque retinendis ſapientis eſt: & eſſe præſtantem aliquam, æternamque naturam & eam ſuſpiciendam, admirandamque

You proceed to enforce an exception of yours, to a quotation from *Joſephus*, about the uſe of *Circumciſion in Ægypt.* Where I muſt recommend one general remark to the reader, and deſire him to apply to *all your Cavils* of this kind; *viz.* that if on any occaſion, thro' haſte or eagerneſs, I have laid more ſtreſs on any *teſtimony*, than it will ſtrictly and ſingly bear, yet 'tis always in caſes, where I have either ſupported *the ſame fact by other full and clear authorities*, or where 'tis allowed and notorious, that it can be ſo ſupported. So that whatever may be objected to the exactneſs of *any particular quotation*, it makes no alteration in the ſtate of the queſtion itſelf. This will be explained by the inſtance before us.

I had quoted *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, to prove, that *Circumciſion was univerſally practiſed by the Ægyptians*; in confirmation of which, I added likewiſe a paſſage of *Joſephus*; that does not, it ſeems, come up to the very point of *univerſal practice:* now without taking any notice of the other authorities, which eſtabliſh the fact, you catch hold of this; run away with the cry of *falſe quotation*; and fancying, that you have got the reader on your

que hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi ordoque rerum cœleſtium cogit confiteri. Quamobrem ut religio propaganda eſt, quæ eſt juncta cum cognitione naturæ; ſic ſuperſtitionis ſtirpes omnes ejiciendæ, *de Div.* 2. 72.

ſide,

fide, and can now perſuade him to any thing, you preſently form an *Hypotheſis* out of your own brain; that *the Ægyptian Prieſts onely were circumciſed*; *that theſe Prieſts taught the Prieſts of other nations to be ſo too*; *and that it was not for the ſake of cleanlineſs, as I tranſlate* καθαριότητος, *but of purity*; *juſt as it was among the Jews* [*a*]. All which particulars I have ſeverally conſidered and confuted [*b*]. But this rude way of confuting does not pleaſe you; you call it *dropping the queſtion and drawing off the reader from the charge brought againſt me* [*c*]. And 'tis indeed drawing off his attention from *words*, to *things*; from *trifles*, to *truth*; not, as you ſay, by *dropping*, but keeping ſtrictly to the merits of the queſtion: which you are forced in effect to give up, by declaring here, *that whether the Ægyptians were generally circumciſed or no, is no material inquiry* [*d*].

To what purpoſe have you ſpent ſo much pains in inquiring about it? And why do you employ ſome pages of *your ſecond Reply*, to prove the negative? Which you endeavour to do by the help of a freſh authority from *Joſephus*; who *in giving an account of the death of* Apion, *an* Ægyptian, *tells us, that he was forced to be circumciſed on account of a diſtemper,*

[*a*] Reply, p. 15.
[*b*] Defence, p. 19.
[*c*] Reply to Defence, p. 16. [*d*] Ibid. p. 16.

of

of which he died [*a*]. Upon which you give this deciſive and declarative ſentence; *that it may ſuffice to ſhew, both that the* Ægyptians *in general did not practiſe this rite, and that* Joſephus *knew very well that they did not.* Yet this very fact, from which you decide ſo dogmatically, will be found at laſt very little to your purpoſe; and like ſome other authorities you alledge, tho' it has ſome ſhew, has no foundation. The thing aſſerted is, that *the* Ægyptians *under the flouriſhing ſtate of their antient Monarchy and Religion were generally circumciſed:* and you to confute it, oppoſe the caſe of a *ſingle Ægyptian*; which is not pretended to have happened, till after *their Monarchy* and *Religion* had been diſſolved, and the Country converted to a *Roman Province.* How judicious and concluſive ſuch reaſoning is, I ſhall leave to the reader.

But you tell me here, that *I have as ill luck as ever at quotations* [*b*]; becauſe I obſerve, that *Joſephus makes no other reflection on the account* Herodotus *gives, of Circumciſion's being borrowed from* Ægypt; *than that of ſuch things every one may think as he pleaſes.* This you affirm, to be *a moſt falſe repreſentation of the matter.* To which I may anſwer, that whether it be *true* or *falſe*, it is of no conſequence to any point in debate: The uſe I make of *Joſephus*, is to ſhew,

[*a*] Reply to Def. p. 18. [*b*] Ibid. p. 19.

that

that in his account of *ſcriptural facts*, he allows a *greater latitude* of interpreting and explaining them, than *modern Advocates* do; and if he really does ſo, in *facts* of greater moment and importance to *Religion* than this, as I ſhall clearly ſhew hereafter; then the uſe I make of him is certainly juſt, however I have repreſented him here: but I ſhall inſiſt upon it withal, that in this very caſe, 'tis not *my repreſentation*, but *your charge* upon me that is *falſe*. You imagine, that the reflection made here by *Joſephus*, that *of ſuch things every one may think as he pleaſes*; relates wholly to *the Story of* Shiſac's *plundering the City and Temple of* Jeruſalem; and to the queſtion, whether *Herodotus refers to the ſame event, or no:* and I allow, that the account of this ſtory, and the proof of its being mentioned by *Herodotus*, make the ſubſtance of the paragraph: and what is ſaid about *Circumciſion*, ſeems thrown in by way of confirmation of it: upon which immediately follows *the reflection* above mentioned, that cloſes the whole: which, however applicable to the other contents of the paragraph, yet cannot be interpreted ſo, as to exclude a reference to the *caſe of Circumciſion*, that immediately precedes it: nay, by all rational conſtruction muſt be thought, if not ſolely, yet principally to refer to it; becauſe as far as I have obſerved or can recollect of *Joſephus*; tho' he uſes the *ſame reflection* very often, yet he never applies it but to *ſome fact or point of great moment*, to the truth or eſſential character

character of the *Jewiſh Religion*. Now as *the ſtory of Shiſac* in this paragraph is of no conſequence to the *Jewiſh Nation or Religion*; ſo 'tis rational to think *the reflection*, 'tis cloſed with, applicable to the caſe of *Circumciſion*, which is of conſequence. But of this we ſhall be better able to judge, after I have explained my ſentiments on the other more important paſſages of *Joſephus*.

I ſhall juſt touch *another of your cavils*, which you inſiſt on again in *your ſaid Reply*. I had obſerved of the *Ægyptians*, that *they were more addicted to miracles and prodigies, than all other people*. And referred myſelf for the truth of my obſervation to a paſſage of *Herodotus*: in which I *deceive my reader*, you ſay [*a*], *at the expence of a falſe quotation*. To this I anſwered; that the *word* τέρατα *in the original*, on which the ſenſe of the paſſage turns, *carries the notion of miracles, as well as prodigies*; that a *ſuperſtitious regard to the one neceſſarily implied the ſame regard to the other*; *and that in fact, it was certain from other authorities, that the* Ægyptians *were juſt as much addicted to miracles as to prodigies* [*b*]. Now what do you ſay to all this? Do you deny any one article of it? No. Do you pretend to ſay that τέρατα does not ſignify *miracles?* No. You own it does. Do you ſhew or ſo much as hint, that *the Ægyp-*

[*a*] Reply, p. 23, 24. [*b*] Defence, p. 48.

tians

tians were not as much addicted *to the one* as *to the other?* No; all that you do, is to *aſſert and inſiſt* ſtill, that the word, *miracles*, is neither expreſſed nor implied in *the ſentence* [*a*]. For my part, in all diſputes of this kind, 'tis my care to attend *to things*, inſtead of cavilling at *Words*; and where I allow the general purpoſe of a teſtimony to be true, am content to overlook any little inaccuracies of rendring it; for if like you, I was diſpoſed to ſquabble and fight my way thro' *every ſyllable of a quotation*, inſtead of the few you except to of mine, there is hardly a ſingle one of yours, that I could not with the ſame truth charge *with falſhood and miſrepreſentation*. Let's take for inſtance the firſt *Greek* one we find, at the bottom of your page; which you tranſlate thus: *for all the Ceremonies of the Temple, and a thouſand other precepts would be neglected, if we were to confine ourſelves onely to the Allegorical Signification* [*b*]. Now the word *All*, about which you make ſuch a rout in both *your Replies* [*c*], is neither expreſſed nor underſtood in the *original*; nor is there any word that anſwers directly to, *Ceremonies*; nor ſo much as a tittle, that ſignifies *Precepts*; and what you tranſlate, *a thouſand*, ought to be rendred *ten thouſand*;

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 22.

[*b*] Τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἁγιστείας καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀμελήσομεν, εἰ μόνοις προσέξωμεν τοῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν δηλυμένοις. Ibid. p. 51.

[*c*] See Reply, p. 23. Item, Reply to Def. p. 20

what

what you render, *confine ourſelves to*, ought to be rendered *attend to*. Why then may not I exclaim here with as much juſtice as you do; *what groſs miſrepreſentation is this*, where there are almoſt as many offences *againſt ſtrict Tranſlation*, as there are words?! But I ſcorn to waſte my time and pains in ſuch trifling; ſhall give up all *that field of Criticiſm* to yourſelf; nor envy you the credit of Learning and Judgment that ſuch arts can procure you.

As to *your other Cavils at my Quotations*, I ſhall leave them where they ſtand to the judgment of the Reader; and if he compares what I have ſaid in defence of them, with the force of what you have objected, I need be in no pain for the judgment he will make: *the quotations* themſelves are produced to ſhew, that the *Jews had borrowed ſome of their ceremonies and cuſtoms from Ægypt*: this is the *onely point in queſtion*; and if you had *replied* to any purpoſe, or had any real concern for truth, 'twas your buſineſs to have *joined iſſue* on that; to have examined into the real ſtate of it: which after *two Replies* you have induſtriouſly declined. The Fact has been conſtantly aſſerted by men of the greateſt Learning, and the moſt converſant in both *Jewiſh* and *Ægyptian Antiquity* [a];

[a] Non negaverim Moſem cum jura conderet, retinuiſſe leges aliquas Ægyptior. &c. Huet. Dem. Evangel. §8. xi.

with-

without any ſuſpicion that the acknowledgment of it could be of any diſſervice to *true Religion*. *Calmet*, the moſt diligent of the modern Commentators, tells us, *that as* Moſes *came out of* Egypt, *and the people, whoſe Leader he was, had been trained in all the cuſtoms, laws and religion of that country; it was not poſſible for him as Legiſlator to propoſe any thing to them, but in conformity to the ideas, impreſſions and habits they were prepoſſeſſed with. That they had a ſurpriſing inclination to Idolatry, from their education in an idolatrous country, where they gave themſelves up to the eſtabliſhed Religion with pleaſure and greedineſs, as it was adapted to their genius, and agreeable to their inclination: and that we muſt attend to, and carry this notion along with us, in order to enter into the deſign and ſpirit of the Moſaic writings* [*a*]. Dr. *Spencer*'s famed work on this very ſubject is at this day greatly and juſtly admired in all *Chriſtian countries*; and his zeal for *Revealed Religion*, ſo little queſtioned on that account, that Archbiſhop *Tenniſon* left fifty pounds by will, as a reward to *the publiſher of a new Edition* of it, with the *poſthumous additions of the Author*; which we have ſeen not long ſince executed by a learned Divine: and to declare my own opinion of the fact; I take it to be ſo clearly grounded in the *teſtimony of Hiſtory, both ſacred and prophane*, that if it cannot be looked upon as *abſolutely*

[*a*] Comment. Præf. Gen. p. vi. and p. x.

certain,

certain, yet it is at leaſt ſo *highly probable*; that to deny it raſhly and peremptorily, as *ſome Divines* are diſpoſed to do, will always do miſchief inſtead of ſervice to the *Chriſtian Cauſe*, by giving diſguſt and offence to candid and impartial inquirers. For *nothing*, as Biſhop *Tillotſon* wiſely obſerves [*a*], *has been more pernicious to the Chriſtian Religion, than the vain pretence of men to greater aſſurance concerning things relating to it, than they can make good; the miſchief of which is this; that when diſcerning and inquiſitive men find that men pretend to greater matters, than they can prove, this makes them doubt of all they ſay, and to call in queſtion the truth of Chriſtianity itſelf.*

'Twas this reflection, that gave riſe to this Controverſy; and the motive of publiſhing *my Letter to Dr. W.* was a perſuaſion, that he was purſuing the very method condemned by the Archbiſhop; taking *greater matters* upon himſelf *than he could prove*; dogmatizing with *greater aſſurance of* things than he could *make good:* and the intention of my addreſs to him was to ſhew him the danger of what, in my judgment, he had *raſhly* undertaken and was *raſhly* executing; and not to declare *any ſentiments of my own:* to convince him, that his *arbitrary manner* of deciding queſtions of the utmoſt nicety and difficulty; by not allowing

[*a*] *Tillotſon*'s Works, Vol. III. p. 452.

the

the leaſt colour of reaſon or probability to any objections; but imputing them all to the *ignorance, malice and wickedneſs* of the objectors, was not the proper way to *convince*, but to *ſhock* every rational Sceptick. It was with this view I propoſed, what I have offered in *My Letter*, about *the Hiſtory of Man's fall, Circumciſion, the Confuſion of Languages, the Diſperſion of Mankind*, &c. in order to ſhew the *literal account* and ſolution of thoſe facts to be charged with difficulties, ſufficient to puzzle even the ſtrongeſt reaſon: which, inſtead of being ſlubbered over, as trifling and inſignificant, muſt be candidly owned and calmly and freely examined, before *Religion* can be eſtabliſhed on *a firm and ſolid foundation.*

And 'tis certain at leaſt after all our endeavours, that ſome things will be found in *Scripture*, which no wit of man can account for, or reconcile to *the natural dictates of reaſon:* and which muſt be left to *the wiſdom of God* to clear up in his own good time. *Porphyry*, as St. *Jerom* ſays, *uſed to object and demand, for what reaſon a merciful God could for ſo many ages, from* Adam *to* Moſes, *and from* Moſes *to* Chriſt, *ſuffer whole Nations to periſh thro' ignorance of his will and law: and why it was neceſſary for* Chriſt *to come ſo late, and not before an innumerable multitude of men had been loſt? Which queſtion*, ſays he, *the bleſſed Apoſtle, in his Epiſtle to the* Romans, *moſt prudently handles, owning his*

ignorance, and referring it to the knowledge of God. Which ought to teach all others, as he ſays, the ſame modeſty of owning their ignorance too in queſtions of this ſort [*a*].

But neither the *example of the Apoſtle*, nor the *admonition of the Father*, can reſtrain the *adventurous Spirit of our modern Champions* from undertaking this very queſtion; and proving, that, whatever St. *Paul* thought, there's no occaſion to own any ignorance at all; for that the fact objected is found at laſt to be falſe, and there really was *no period of time*, in which the Nations of the world wanted light and opportunity of knowing the *Revealed Will and ſtanding Law of God* [*b*].

But to reſume what I was ſaying, of the *Hiſtory of Man's Fall, the Confuſion of Languages; and the Diſperſion of Mankind:* As the firſt is a point of great moment, I ſhall take occaſion to explain myſelf fully upon it by and by: in order to which I ſhall here diſmiſs the *two laſt*, by deſiring the Reader onely to recollect *the Obſervation* made above; that I was not *declar-*

[*a*] Quam quæſtionem beatus Apoſtolus ad Romanos ſcribens, prudentiſſime ventilat, ignorans hæc, & Dei concedens ſcientiæ. Dignare & tu iſta neſcire quæ quæris. Concede Deo potentiam ſui, nequaquam te indiget defenſore, *Hier. ad Cteſiph. adv. Pelag. Op. T.* IV. *Par.* II. *p.* 481. *Edit. Bened.*

[*b*] *See* Scripture Vindicated. Par. II. Poſtſcript.

ing

ing here any *Sentiments* of my own, but ſhewing onely the inſufficiency of what was advanced by Dr. *W.* And if on this, or any other occaſion, I have uſed a *greater freedom or levity of expreſſion*, than is thought decent on *queſtions of ſuch importance*; I hope it may be ſome excuſe for me, that I was writing as *a perſon concealed:* a circumſtance, that naturally diſpoſes to more freedom, than a Man would otherwiſe take; eſpecially when he hopes by that very means the more effectually to diſguiſe his real character; as well as to raiſe an attention to what he has to offer by *ſome ſting and ſpirit* in the manner of offering it. Dr. *W.* greatly contemns *his Antagoniſt*, for being *dull, inſipid and without poignancy* [*a*]: ſo that it was neceſſary for me to addreſs him in a *different ſtile*; that if I did not happen to pleaſe, I might at leaſt have the fortune to eſcape his contempt. With this reflection let the reader review what I have ſaid on the *ſtory of* Babel; and he will ſee, that I have paſſed *no peremptory judgment* upon it; declared no other opinion but this; that *the origin of languages may, with ſome colour of reaſon and probability, be accounted for in a natural way.*

As for *the Diſperſion of Mankind*, I am very certain, that *Dr.* W.*'s account and your defence* of it will appear *abſurd and irrational* to every

[*a*] Scripture Vindicated. Par. II. p. 36.

judicious reader: and as I do not find *in Scripture*, that there was *any miracle or extraordinary interpoſition of God* employed to effect it; ſo I think myſelf at *liberty* to ſolve and explain it in any manner agreeable to *reaſon:* what I have propoſed to that purpoſe, is, in my judgment, a cauſe fully adequate to the end, and what could not fail to bring it about, as ſoon as there was occaſion, from the *very nature and neceſſities of human kind.*

I ſhall now proceed to give ſome account of the uſe I make of *Joſephus*'s Authority; as well as to conſider the force of your objections on this head.

In the firſt place then, you allow *Joſephus* to have been a *wiſe and excellent Apologiſt of the Jewiſh Religion and Government*, and *a true lover of both*; and ſuggeſt ſeveral reaſons, why it would not have been *prudent in him, to have inſiſted ſtrongly on* Moſes's *Miracles, or the Divine Authority of the Jewiſh Religion*; that *he knew he was treading on dangerous ground*; *and that 'twas his buſineſs to guard againſt giving offence to the prejudiced Heathens*; *that in many parts of his Antiquities, where he relates a Miracle, he leaves his readers to think of it, as they pleaſe, without exacting from them a full belief of it: and in ſhort, that in his Book againſt* Apion, *he wholly omits the mention of* Moſes's *Miracles* [*a*].

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 66. &c.

Now

Now this, Sir, is owning much more, than is neceſſary to juſtify the *full uſe* I endeavour to draw from him: that as he, *whoſe ſincerity in his Religion* is confeſſed, and *whoſe prudence in the defence of it* applauded, allowed *a liberty of thinking*, and *a latitude of explaining* ſome *ſcriptural facts* of great moment; ſo our *modern Advocates* ought to temper *their zeal* with the *ſame prudence* by leaving likewiſe *ſome liberty* in the explication of the *ſame facts*. And your own account proves my inference to be not onely juſt, but temperate too: for I do not contend for *all the liberty* which *Joſephus* has given; but where he has given *ſo much*, that *our Apologiſts* might reaſonably indulge *ſome*.

Joſephus's deſign in his *Book againſt Apion* was, by your own account of it, exactly the ſame with Dr. *W.*'s in his *Book againſt Chriſtianity as old*, &c. that is, *to confute* [*a*] *the particular objections and calumnies of Infidels and prejudiced perſons, who repreſent* Moſes *as an Impoſtor, and his laws as making men worſe inſtead of better*. Now if *Joſephus* acted wiſely in *not preſſing*, as you ſay, *too forwardly the Miracles and Divine Authority of* Moſes; *but endeavouring by a prudent and dextrous way of treating thoſe points to ſoften and win the Infidels to his ſide*: then 'tis reaſonable to infer, that Dr. *W.* not

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 67.

onely might, but ought to have followed his example, in points at leaſt of leſs moment: and ſuch a conduct muſt have been eſteemed in the Doctor, what you declare it to have been in *Joſephus*; the effect of a *ſincere zeal and love for his Religion.*

You tell us very gravely, that *Joſephus had no view either in his Book of Antiquities, or That againſt* Apion *to make converts to Judaiſm; but onely to give the* Greeks *and* Romans *a favourable opinion of the* Jewiſh *Nation* [*a*]. But does not an elaborate Attempt *to recommend his Religion* as effectually as he can, and to turn *the prejudices* conceived againſt it into *a favourable opinion of* it, neceſſarily imply a deſign *of making converts?* If not, I am at a loſs to know what other way there is of making any. The *Biſhop of* Meaux's *famed Piece*, in which he dreſſes up ſo *moderate and qualified a Picture of Popery*, as to offend *the zealots* even of his own Religion, was not written, you may ſay, with *any view to make converts*; but to give the Proteſtants onely, *a favourable opinion of the Popiſh Religion*, and *take off their prejudices againſt it:* but would not people be apt to laugh at you for ſaying ſo? The caſe is much the ſame in what you ſay of *Joſephus.*

Your next obſervation is more trifling: that

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 65.

it

it would not have been ſafe for him to have acted otherwiſe; that *his life was at the mercy of the Heathens*; and *to have preſſed the Divine Authority of his Religion more ſtrongly, would have been looked on as an open diſparagement of the* Roman *Religion and Laws too.* And what *he ſays therefore of* Minos *was for fear of offending thoſe, who had received his laws as given from Heaven* [*a*]. But was there then in *Old Rome*, as there is in the *New*, an *Inquiſition* eſtabliſhed for the ſecurity of *the Publick Religion?* Or what zeal could *a* Roman *Emperor* have for the *laws of* Minos, made ſo many ages before, for *the little Iſland of* Crete; which by that time, we may ſuppoſe had been long antiquated? No, Sir, all this reaſoning of yours has no foundation in truth or hiſtory; 'tis merely talking at random, and deſerves no other anſwer, than that of ridicule.

As to the *Book of Jewiſh Antiquities*, the fact is; that *Joſephus*, in order to take off *the prejudice and averſion*, which the World had generally conceived to *the Jews*, and to give the beſt impreſſion he was able of their *Religion and Polity*, undertakes to draw out a *perpetual Hiſtory* of both, from *the Records of the Old Teſtament*, in a language at that time the moſt univerſally known and practiſed of any other: declaring, that his intention was not *to vary a*

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 66. 72.

tittle from what he found in the Sacred Books; and that he was to be conſidered onely as a mere Interpreter of them [*a*]. Now in the execution of this work you obſerve, that *Joſephus expreſſes himſelf very plainly in many paſſages, on the Article of* Moſes's *Inſpiration and the divine origin of the Law* [*b*]. And reaſon good, that he ſhould do ſo; where he profeſſes to ſpeak nothing but what the *Scriptures plainly dictate*: ſo that, as oft as *the Scriptures* have occaſion to mention *the Inſpiration of* Moſes, ſo oft was he obliged to mention it too, from the very nature of the taſk he had undertaken: and in all ſuch places we can collect nothing certain of *Joſephus's real opinion*, but of the *ſenſe of Scripture* onely; which he had obliged himſelf to follow. But whenever he *varies* from *that Scripture*; as he does remarkably in many caſes; *contrary to his own declaration:* and without any other reaſon than what depended on his own choice; and where in the relation of any fact, he gives *a different turn* to it, from what we find in the *Moſaick account*, 'tis there, we are to look for the *Sentiments and Principles of* Joſephus.

Now all men of learning obſerve, that *his Hiſtory* is in many particulars *very different from that of* Moſes; that *he adds ſome things* of his

[*a*] Procem. in Lib. I. Antiq. & Lib. X. c. x. §. 6.
[*b*] Reply to Defence, p. 65.

own;

own; *wholly omits* others; and interprets moſt of them ſo, as to give them the eaſier credit *with the Heathens*; and this eſpecially, in the *article of Miracles*. *Fabricius* has collected the cenſures of learned men upon him on this very account [*a*]: and *Peter Brinch*, a *learned Divine* and *critical reader* of him, has given us his own; where he tells us, *that it was a fault not uncommon with him, to relate the Miracles from Sacred Writ in ſuch a manner, as to make them even doubtful and ſuſpected* [*b*]. For inſtance; where he gives an account of the *wonderful appearance of God on Mount* Sinai, he interpoſes this reflection very uſual with him; *of theſe things the reader may think as he pleaſes; 'tis neceſſary for me to relate them, juſt as they are written in the Sacred Books* [*c*]. To the ſtory of *Nebuchadnezzar*, he ſubjoins the ſame reflection; *let no man blame me for delivering theſe particulars, as I found them in the old Books: for in the beginning of my Hiſtory I declared, that I acted onely the part of a Tranſlator*, &c. [*d*]. And in the next Chapter, after an account of *Daniel and his Prophecies*, he concludes the Book by ſaying; *for my part, as I have found and read theſe things,*

[*a*] Vid. Fabricii Biblioth, Gr. l. 4. c. 6. it. Havercamp. Edit. Joſeph. Vol. 2. Append. p. 57.

[*b*] Nec rarum Joſepho iſtud vitium eſt, quod divina ex ſacris literis miracula ita referat, ut dum refert, dubia lectoribus & ſuſpecta reddat, &c. Edit. Havercamp. *ibid.* p. 301.

[*c*] Antiq. l. III. c. v. §. 2. [*d*] Ibid. l. X. c. x. §. 6.

ſo

ſo I have written them; but if any man be diſpoſed to think differently about them, he ſhall not be blamed by me for his different way of thinking [*a*]. Laſtly, in the account of the Prophet *Jonah*, excuſing himſelf, as it were, for delivering a ſtory ſo ſtrange, he *twice* puts the reader in mind, *that he writes onely what he takes from the Scripture* [*b*].

'Tis to no purpoſe to collect any more inſtances of this kind, or *the variations he* has made from *Moſes*, or the *natural cauſes* hinted in the caſe of *ſome miracles*; or *his omiſſions* of ſome remarkable facts, as of the *Golden Calf*, the *Brazen Serpent*, &c. all ſuppoſed to be done with the ſame view of recommending his *Religion* to Strangers. The uſe I make of this is, to ſhew the truth of what I had gathered from *this very Book of Antiquities*, *that his real Sentiments of the Divine Authority of Moſes* were not carried to *that height*, to which *our Divines* commonly puſh theirs: and this you modeſtly call, *the raſhneſs of my aſſertion, or the negligence of my reading* [*c*]; though all men of learning allow it; even thoſe, who allow at the ſame time, as you do, that *Joſephus was ſincere and zealous in his Religion.* And if, *zealous* as he was, he took a *liberty* himſelf, and indulged it to others, of ſolving by different ways the great

[*a*] Antiq. l. X. c. xi. ad. fin. [*b*] Ibid. c. x. §. 2.
[*c*] Reply to Defence, p. 75.

events

events recorded in *Scripture*; a conduct, which you, in effect, declare to be *wise and prudent*; it follows of course, that *the inference*, I made, is reasonable, and what I must insist upon again; that our *zealous Advocates of Christianity*, ought for the same reasons of *not giving offence to Infidels*, and *hurting the cause they would vindicate*, to follow his example at least so far as to use *some degree of temper and moderation*, where he is justly thought to have used *too much* of it.

From this general view of *Josephus*'s *Writings*, I come once more to consider *the particular passage* in dispute between us taken from his *Book against* Apion [*a*]: which you call my *Master-piece of Quotation*. I had before observed that the dispute turned wholly on a *point of fact*, about what *Josephus had or had not said* in this place; and that I was not declaring *any opinion of my own*, but examining onely *into that fact*. But as this caution has not proved sufficient to guard me from *envy and clamour*, so I must again beg the reader to attend more distinctly to the *true state of the Question*, and not to charge on me the Sentiments, which the nature of the Controversy leads me to charge on *Josephus*.

Now after a due examination of what you have offered in *your second Reply* to my exposi-

[*a*] Contr. Ap. lib. II. c. 16.

tion

tion of the paſſage before us; I find myſelf obliged to perſiſt ſtill in what I had before declared; that we cannot by any fair and rational conſtruction draw out of this paragraph *any notion of the Divine Miſſion and Inſpiration of* Moſes, in that high ſenſe of it in which 'tis commonly received, without the help of that *prejudice and prevention*, we come poſſeſſed with, in favour of the notion we ſearch for. You tell us yourſelf, that *in this Book againſt* Apion *the Invention of* Moſes's *miracles is intirely omitted* [*a*]: and does not this conceſſion prepare us for the very interpretation I give? To confirm which, we are to conſider the *general tenor and ſcope* of the paragraph; to connect one part with another ſo, as to make them ſeverally conſiſtent with the obvious ſenſe of the whole: and not to dwell, as you do, on the rigorous meaning of *two or three* words, which cannot be admitted, without controuling and overruling the clear ſenſe of *an hundred*. But ſince much more has already been ſaid on this paſſage, than the merit of it will juſtify; I ſhall take notice onely of *one of the difficulties* you charge in *your ſecond Reply*; ſince the clearing up of this will be deciſive and effectual to the confutation of all the reſt.

The difficulty I mean relates to the laſt ſentence in the paragraph, which I have tranſlated

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 67, 68.

thus,

thus. *Some have thrown the form of their publick affairs into a Monarchy; others into the power of a few, or an Oligarchy: others into the multitude, or a Democracy: but our Lawgiver had no regard to any of theſe, but if a man may uſe an expreſſion ſo forced, made the form of Government he inſtituted, a Theocracy* [*a*]. Where the *laſt words*, I ſay, *clinch the whole* to the ſenſe I had been eſtabliſhing. But you object here, that I have *falſly and abſurdly* tranſlated the words, θεοκρατιαν ἀπέδειξε, *he made his Government a Theocracy: whereas, it plainly ſignifies, what the Old* Latin *Interpreter gave; he declared it to be ſo; he propoſed, and delivered it, as a Theocracy* [*b*]. And *when the Words*, you ſay, *are thus rightly rendered, they are very far from clinching the whole*, or confirming my explication. Here then we join iſſue; if my tranſlation be true, you will own it to *clinch the whole* to my ſenſe; if yours appear to be ſo, I will retract and recall mine. *The iſſue is ſhort*; let's proceed to the trial of it.

And as in all queſtions of this kind, the firſt inquiry ought to be about the turn and meaning of the whole connected ſentence; ſo we will firſt conſider here, to what ſenſe of the word, ἀπέδειξε, *the context* directs us. *Joſephus* is giving a ſhort hint of the form of the *Jewiſh*

[*a*] Defence, p. 29. See the whole paſſage.
[*b*] Reply to Defence, p. 69, 70.

Govern-

Government, in the inſtitution of which he tells us, *that the Lawgiver had no regard to any of the different kinds ſubſiſting in the World, whether Monarchy, Oligarchy, or Democracy:* now theſe words, you will own, are applicable to *Moſes, acting authoritatively in his own proper perſon:* but they are not onely impertinent, but abſurd, if what immediately follows is not to be applied ſo too: they lead us to imagine, that he was projecting *a form of Government*, and looking abroad into the world to conſider *the various kinds of it* among other people; and that he reſolved at laſt to take his pattern from none of them, but to make his own of a different kind from them all. For what could *Joſephus* mean by telling us, that *Moſes had no regard to any other form*; if he meant in the next words to tell us, that he had *no hand in the making even his own form?* 'Tis nothing at all to the purpoſe what he had *regarded* or *not regarded*, had it not been with a view to the *making of a Government:* and thus the context is not onely impertinent, but inconſiſtent with itſelf, if your ſenſe be admitted.

As to the word itſelf, ἀποδειξαι, I may ſafely appeal to all, who have a competent knowledge of *Greek*, whether in this place and form of conſtruction it ought not to be rendered to the ſenſe I have given it; of *making*, *conſtituting*, *appointing:* and though it may have likewiſe, that of *declaring* or *propoſing*; yet it muſt be

be of ſomething *formed* and *conſtituted* by him who *declares* and *propoſes* it; and includes therefore at the ſame time *the notion of making*. Many examples of this may be found in the *Claſſic Authors*, though 'tis not eaſy to recur to them, as ſoon as they are wanted. One I have recollected from *Joſephus* himſelf, in *Jethro's advice to Moſes*; about placing *Judges or Rulers* over the people. The words are ἄρχοντας ἀποδείξεις, thou ſhalt *make or conſtitute Rulers:* and a little lower, he uſes a different word of the ſame force, τάξεις, thou ſhalt *appoint* or *place over them* [*a*]. I have met with another in *Plutarch*, who ſpeaking of *Lycurgus*, in the very caſe of *moulding his Government*, tells us, how by *a method learnt in* Ægypt, *he made it at laſt truly elegant and perfect*. Ἄριστον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολίτευμα, καὶ καθαρὸν, ἀποδεῖξαι [*b*]. *Hen. Stephens's Theſaurus* furniſhes ſeveral inſtances from *Plato*, *Xenophon*, &c. where he renders the word by *facio*, *efficio*, *reddo*, *creo*, *conſtituo:* that is, to *make*, *effect*, *create*, *conſtitute:* I ſhall juſt mention one, where *Xenophon* ſpeaking of the proper choice of Maſters for the Youth, ſays, that *ſuch of the older ſort uſed to be choſen, who were the moſt likely to make their children the beſt men:* τοὺς παῖδας βελτίστους ἂν ἀποδεικνῦναι [*c*]. And a little after, for the ſame thing, he uſes, βελτίστους παρέχειν.

[*a*] Antiq. l. 3, 4. [*b*] Plut. in Vita. Lycurg. p. 41.
[*c*] Inſtitut. Cyri. l. 1.

But

But you tell us withal, that the *old Interpreter* had rendered this place, by *declaring his Government a Theocracy:* an *Authority* I doubt, that will add very little weight to your cauſe; *Scaliger* declares *your old Interpreter* to have been a *great blunderer* [*a*]. And for what reaſon have *the Critics* diſcarded him, but that they found him to be ſo; and his verſion here contrary to ſenſe, and contrived onely to ſerve an *Hypotheſis*; which however true, cannot derive any additional credit from a *falſe tranſlation?* Have not *Hudſon* and *Havercamp*, the *learned Editors of Joſephus*, tranſlated the word, as I have given it? And did they not underſtand *Greek*, and the *Author* they have publiſhed? You muſt *reply* diſtinctly to all this, before you can make any impreſſion in favour of what you advance. You muſt ſhew *the context* to give no colour to my expoſition: you muſt ſhew *the word itſelf* to bear no ſuch meaning: you muſt ſhew that men of the firſt name in learning not to have underſtood *Greek:* and when you have done this, you may then claim the credit of reſtoring your *old Interpreter* to his *old Honours.* In the mean while, ſhould the reader allow my traſlation to be juſt, he muſt allow withal, what you ſeem to do too, that it *clinches the whole paragraph to the ſenſe* I have given of it.

[*a*] Præf. Hudſ. Edit. Joſeph.

I ſhall

I ſhall now follow you through the examination of what you call *the moſt important part of my Defence*; in which you charge me with *attempting more openly to weaken the authority of* Moſes [*a*]: where after you have collected into one view, what you call my *ſcattered Sentiments*, you draw up the ſtate of the controverſy into *two points* [*b*]. 1. *Whether* Moſes's *account of the Creation and Fall of Man is to be underſtood literally or no.* 2. *Whether the Religion and Laws which* Moſes *delivered to the* Jews *had a divine Origin and Authority.* To theſe two points I ſhall anſwer diſtinctly; and to ſhew how ready I am to humour you, as far as I am able, will give what you require, *a full and explicit account of my thoughts* upon them.

But in order to clear my way to them, it will be neceſſary to conſider what you have objected, as uſual, to *two quotations* of mine that relate to the ſame ſubject.

In ſupport of my expoſition of *the paragraph*, we have been examining, and to ſhew, that *Joſephus had put* Moſes *on the ſame foot with* Minos *and the other old Lawgivers*; I took occaſion to obſerve, that this was ſo far from *weakening* Moſes's *Authority*, that it tended to *ſtrengthen it* with thoſe, to whom it was addreſſed; who had the higheſt eſteem and opi-

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 46. [*b*] Ibid. p. 48.

nion of *thoſe very Lawgivers*, and were ſo far from being ſcandalized at the *fictions* contrived by them for *the good of the people*; that they *bragged* of them the more for that very reaſon, as the *greateſt benefactors of mankind*. This I confirmed from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Plato*. But *to theſe*, you ſay [*a*], *'tis not worth while to anſwer*; *they are Heathen authorities*, *and I am welcome to them*: and as much *Heathens* as they are, they are *welcome*, I aſſure you, to me: I am proud of their acquaintance; and though I do not intend to die in their faith, yet reſolve to live in their friendſhip.

Of theſe *Plato* particularly, who has written *on Government* more fully than any of the Antients, affirms it to be the *chief duty of a Magiſtrate*, *to contrive ſuch Fables*, *Fictions or Political Lies*, as he thinks the moſt effectual to inſtil into the people *a reverence for the Laws*, and diſpoſe them to a *willing obedience* to them. Now the *Greek* Fathers I obſerved, were poſſeſſed likewiſe with a common opinion, that *Plato* had diligently ſtudied the *Books of Moſes*, and copied ſo many of his notions from them, that he was called by ſome the *Attick Moſes*: and that *Clemens of Alexandria* and *Euſebius* do in a manner aſſert, or *ſay at leaſt much the ſame thing*, that *Plato's notion of the uſe of thoſe Fables and Fictions was borrowed from the Moſaic*

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 61.

Writ-

Writings [*a*]. But here you tell me flatly, that *I have miſrepreſented* Clemens, *and acted ſtill more unfairly with* Euſebius [*b*], whom ſince I have treated, it ſeems, *the worſt of the two*, I will endeavour to do juſtice to in the firſt place.

And on a review of the paſſage taken from him, I find myſelf ſo far from having treated him *unfairly*, that I have aſcribed nothing to him but what his very words plainly and directly expreſs. In the *eleventh Book of his Preparation*, he ſets out by undertaking to ſhew, *the exact agreement of the* Greeks, *and above all of* Plato, *with the Books of* Moſes, *in all the moſt important points*. And the ſubject of the Book is to prove this by a compariſon of the particulars. He opens the *twelfth Book* by telling us, that the purpoſe of it is to ſhew, *the particular agreement of* Plato *with the Jewiſh Oracles, juſt like the harmony of a well-tuned Lyre, in all the articles not ſpecified in the former Book*. And in each Chapter of this Book, in which there are fifty, he gives a different example of this ſame *harmony*; prefixing to each *a Summary or Title* of the contents it treats of. Among which we find theſe that follow.

That *Children ought to be trained up by Fables*.

[*a*] Defence, p. 44. [*b*] Reply to Def. p. 62, 64.

That *a careful choice ought to be made of ſuch Fables.*

That *we ought not to expoſe to all promiſcuouſly the profound and awful doctrines of Truth.*

That Plato *allegorizes the ſtory of Paradiſe, juſt as* Moſes.

That *Youth ſhould be trained to the exerciſe of Virtue by Hymns and Songs.*

That *'tis neceſſary ſometimes to uſe a Lye inſtead of Phyſick, for the good of thoſe who want it.*

The paſſage I have quoted is found under this *laſt title*; and the Chapter itſelf begins with *the words of* Plato, to this effect, as nearly as I can render them: That *a Lawgiver, who is good for any thing, ought above all other Fictions contrived for the good of the Youth, to invent ſuch eſpecially, as tend to make them do what is right and juſt, not by force, but readily and willingly.* To which is immediately ſubjoined the reflection of *Euſebius himſelf, that there are very many inſtances of this kind, in the books of the* Hebrews.

I appeal now to every reader, whether 'tis poſſible for a teſtimony to be more *explicit and direct* than this. 'Tis produced to prove, that according to *Euſebius*, Plato's *notion of Political Fictions was borrowed from* Moſes. *Euſebius* expreſly affirms it. How is it then that I have acted *unfairly* with him? Becauſe I conceal, it ſeems, and drop the following words, which ſhew,

ſhew, that the *Fiction*, he imputes to *Scripture*, conſiſted onely in aſcribing *human paſſions to the Deity*, and repreſenting him, as *jealous*, *ſleepy*, *angry*; which, however it may amuſe ſome readers, is yet nothing at all to the purpoſe. The fact, for which *Euſebius* is appealed to, is, whether Plato *borrowed the notion from Scripture*, or no: Euſebius *declares that he did*; which is all that I am concerned for. If we would know the particular inſtances of *Fiction* that *Plato* borrowed; we muſt learn that from *Plato himſelf*, and not from *Euſebius*. I have ſhewn what kind it was that *Plato* recommended; and no body, I dare ſay, can ſhew that he ever recommended what *Euſebius* here mentions; or for *the good of the People* ever feigned God to be *jealous*, *angry*, *ſleepy*, &c. My buſineſs then being to prove the authority of *Euſebius*, that Plato *had borrowed his notion from* Moſes; it could not be to the purpoſe to exemplify it, by inſtances, which he did not borrow. And *Euſebius* might poſſibly give this turn to his argument, to obviate *the offence*, which a frank allowance of ſuch a fact might give to the more *rigid and zealous:* it being well known, that no ſmall clamour was raiſed againſt him by the *ſtrictly orthodox* of thoſe times, for his *opinions* in ſome high Points of Religion.

Let's now ſee what you object to the other paſſage of *Clemens*; who in ſpeaking, as I ſay, of the *Art of governing*, *allows the* Greeks *to*

have learnt from Moſes *among other leſſons of Policy, the proper uſe and application of Lying or Fiction* [*a*]. But you charge me here with *miſrepreſentation*, in calling that the *Art of governing*, which ought to be rendered the *Art of governing in war*, or *the Art of a General*. And ſhould I grant you this, pray what would you gain by it? Does it not come up to what I contend for; or at leaſt, as I have put it, *to much the ſame thing?* For what difference is there in the thing itſelf, when uſed for the *good of the people*, whether it be uſed *in peace*, or *in war?* Unleſs that *in war*, 'tis ſeldom practiſed with effect, but *to the deſtruction of thouſands*; *in peace* without the *leaſt hurt or injury* to any one: and this difference, I'm afraid, will give no advantage to your ſide of the queſtion.

Dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirit:

is, I know, the ordinary maxim of *military policy*; and you give us from *Virgil*, the *mentita tela* of an enemy: but you forget what you had obſerved on a leſs pertinent occaſion, that theſe are *Heatheniſh maxims*; the ſuggeſtions of a *looſe morality:* Will you undertake to defend them by the *ſtrict principles of Religion*, or aſſert the practice of them to be honourable in *the character of* Moſes? If you can do this, then *the uſe of Fiction* in any caſe for *the good of the people* may ſurely be defended by the ſame princi-

[*a*] Defence, p. 44.

ples,

ples. For to conſider Moſes's *character*: was he *not divinely inſpired and aſſiſted* in the ſame extraordinary manner in all *the Events of war*, as in all *the Arts of peace?* by *ſtretching out his rod* he could drown a mighty hoſt; by *lifting up his hands deſtroy* a whole army: is it not then the ſame diminution of his *divine Authority*, to ſuppoſe him under a neceſſity of recurring to *Fiction* or *Stratagem* in the one caſe, as in the other? Conſidering, I ſay, the circumſtances of Moſes's *character*, it ſeems difficult to make out the difference: yet you roundly aſſert, and think the aſſertion innocent, that he might uſe *all the arts of deceiving in war*; but will not ſuffer me to impute to him the *leaſt poſſible degree of it in peace*, without *weakening his Authority*.

But as this paſſage of *my Defence* has generally been thought the moſt exceptionable of any in *my Two Pieces*; ſo I muſt beg leave to recite here my very words, in order to explain my true meaning in them the more clearly; they run thus: *Is the notion then of the Divine Origin of the Law, and the Inſpiration of* Moſes *to be reſolved into Fiction and Fable, or political Lying? No, far be it from me to think or ſay that: but this perhaps one may venture to ſay; that the ſuppoſition of ſome degree of ſuch Fiction may poſſibly be found neceſſary to the ſolving the difficulties of the* Moſaic *Writings, without any hurt to their authority or advantage to Infi-*

delity &c. [*a*]. And here we ſee after all the cry that has been made againſt me, I expreſly diſclaim the *leaſt thought* of ſaying or doing any thing, that really contradicts the *Divine Origin of the Law or Inſpiration of* Moſes: and in the next words, where I ſeem to allow *ſome degree of Fiction*, I have uſed all the terms of *reſerve, doubt and diffidence*, that can poſſibly be crouded into any ſentence: *perhaps*; *may venture*; *ſome degree*; *may poſſibly be found*: which can by no means imply a perſuaſion, but an hint onely to ground a queſtion upon. And that ſtill, upon a ſuppoſition, that ſuch a queſtion can do *no manner of hurt to the authority of* Moſes, or *ſervice to Infidelity*. When the reader has duly reflected on this, then let him conſider, how juſtly I have been accuſed from the evidence of this paſſage, of calling in queſtion *the Divine Inſpiration of the Scriptures*.

To return to the teſtimony of *Clemens*: where tho' it ſeems needleſs to ſay any thing more of a *tranſlation*, which bears equally in either ſenſe to the point in queſtion; yet as I never tranſlated any paſſage with deſign to make it bear more than it would ſtrictly carry; ſo I think myſelf obliged to give ſome account here, why I tranſlated the word στρατήγημα, by the *Art of governing in general*, and not, as you would have it, the *Art of governing in war*: and for this I had the following reaſons.

[*a*] Defence, p. 45.

That

That tho' I well knew the word, στρατηγεῖν, to ſignify properly, *to lead an army*, or *govern it in war*, in the *old Claſſick Authors*, yet I knew withal, that in the time of *Joſephus*, and of the *Eccleſiaſtical Writers* eſpecially, who lived after him, the word had loſt its *proper*, *original* ſenſe, and was applicable to denote *Civil Magiſtracy* or *Government in general*. Thus *Moſes* is commonly called by *Joſephus* the στρατηγὸς *of the Jews*, not in the notion of a *General* or *Leader of an Army*, but of *ſupreme Governor* or *Magiſtrate*. And this, as in many other places, ſo in that particularly, where he appears in the meer form of a *Civil Magiſtrate*, and in the very act of *hearing and judging civil cauſes* [*a*]. His ſucceſſor *Joſhua* is in like manner always ſtiled the στρατηγὸς, in the ſenſe of *general Governor* [*b*]. And what's moſt to the point, *Joſeph*, in his *government of* Ægypt, where he had no *military command*, is called in the ſame ſenſe, στρατηγὸς: where a *learned Critick* in a marginal note obſerves, that *this word had in that Age loſt its relation to War, and denoted Civil Power or Government in general* [*c*]. In which ſenſe the *Eccleſiaſtical Writers* generally uſe it, as [*d*] *Va-*

[*a*] Antiq. l. 3. 4. Item, l. 4. 4. §. 7, &c.
[*b*] Ib. l. 5. 1. §. 1, 3, 29. [*c*] Ib. l. 2. 6.
[*d*] Valeſ. Not. ad lib. 31. Ammiani Marcell. c. vi. it. Not. ad Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. l. 7. c. xi. not. 6. it. ad Euſeb. l. 8. c. xi. not 4.

leſius

leſius has fully ſhewn; and as every body will find from the old *Lexicons* and *Gloſſaries* [a].

This being then the common acceptation of the word in the Age of *Clemens*, an admirer of *Joſephus*; and στρατήγος carrying the notion of a *general Governor* or *Magiſtrate*; 'tis certain that στρατήγημα, conſidered ſingly, may truly and properly be rendered by the *Art of Governing*, without any reſpect to *war*. And as the context in this place ſeemed ſomewhat perplexed and obſcure; ſo I was not curious to conſider, whether it ought to be rendered the *Art of Government*, *Civil or Military*, ſince it was obvious to reflect, as I have obſerved above, that in either ſenſe it comes to *much the ſame thing*.

As to the fact itſelf, whether *Plato did really borrow any thing from* Moſes *or not*, I am no way concerned for the truth of it; but ſhall leave it to *theſe Fathers* to anſwer for it: what they have delivered concerning it, might be with a view to recommend their Religion *to the Greeks*, agreeably to what *Clemens* himſelf declares, that *as the Apoſtle became a* Hebrew *to the* Hebrews, *ſo it was reaſonable to become a* Greek *to* Greeks. And the very paſſage we have been examining may, for any thing I know, be one of thoſe

[a] Du Freſne. it. Lexic. Vet. ad finem Operum S. Cyrilli. H. Steph. Theſ.

unſound

unſound ones, which *Photius* tells us are to be found in this very work of *Clemens* [*a*].

I ſhall now at laſt explain myſelf more particularly on the two moſt important points of this Controverſy;

1. *The Allegorical Expoſition of the Hiſtory of the Creation and Fall of Man.*
2. *The Divine Origin and Inſpiration of the Scriptures.*

As to the firſt of theſe, you charge me with aſſerting, that *the literal ſenſe is in fact contradictory to reaſon and the notions we have of God* [*b*]. But here, Sir, you either miſtake my meaning thro' want of attention, or thro' deſign miſrepreſent it. I had ſaid in *my Letter*, that *all Commentators are forced in ſome meaſure to deſert the literal meaning* [*c*]: and in *my Defence*, where I have further explained myſelf, that *if it be found in fact contradictory to reaſon and the notions we have of God*, we muſt neceſſarily *deſert* it [*d*]. *The firſt* I ſhall ſtill aſſert to be true; and *the latter* all Divines whatſoever will allow to be ſo. But to reject the *literal ſenſe conditionally*, and on ſuppoſition onely of *its being contrary to reaſon*, which is all that I have done, or deſigned at

[*a*] Photii Biblioth, p. 288.
[*b*] Reply to Defence, p. 48.
[*c*] Letter, p. 13. [*d*] Defence, p. 15.

leaſt

leaſt to do, is a quite different thing, from what you charge me with; *the aſſerting it to be in fact contradictory to reaſon.* So that the very foundation you build upon, of my having *abſolutely rejected the letter*, is falſe, ſince I reject it onely *hypothetically* or *conditionally*. Beſides by *deſerting the Letter*, there's no neceſſity to underſtand an *abſolute denial or rejection of all hiſtorical ſenſe* in it; but a preference onely of the *Allegorical* in ſome particular caſes, as the propereſt baſis for *a rational Defence of Religion.*

Now in this very *Hiſtory of the Creation*, I find the *Commentators* greatly divided and diſagreeing among themſelves, in their ſeveral methods of explaining it. Some prefer the *Allegorical Senſe*, others the *Literal*; moſt indeed allow, that *both* are conſiſtent, and may be uſed together: but all take a liberty of applying each arbitrarily, without any certain rule, juſt as their ſeveral ſyſtems or fancies incline them [*a*]. So that 'tis not poſſible to draw from them all, any uniform and certain principle of true belief and interpretation. 'Tis this I refer to, this I complain of in the *Defence of my Letter* [*b*]: that thoſe who defend Religion ſo *dogmatically*, do not ſtate and define

[*a*] Les ecrits des Peres & de la plupart des Interpretes en ſont pleins; & ces ſortes d'explications ſont ſouvent arbitraires. Calmet, Comment. Pref. Gen. p. 11.

[*b*] Defence, p. 13.

what

what it is, *that we Chriſtians are obliged to believe* of this ſtory: that they do not determine *the bounds of Letter and Allegory*; do not fix ſome *ſettled rule* of applying them; but *jump*, as I ſay, *arbitrarily from one to the other*, as each man's whim directs him. And in this uncertainty and latitude of interpretation, 'tis ridiculous to charge particular opinions with *Infidelity*, that offend againſt no eſtabliſhed maxim or rule of expoſition.

After trifling a while about the word, *Myſtery*, in a manner that deſerves no anſwer, you collect the ſubſtance of your charge into one point, *viz.* that I alledge *in favour of Allegory that the Primitive Fathers eſteemed it on many occaſions the onely method of vindicating Scripture* [*a*]. This you treat as a *bold and raſh* Aſſertion, and exert all your Strength and Learning to prove it ſo; declaring, that I *have miſtaken the ſenſe of every one of the teſtimonies* produced to confirm it. Here then we will once more *join iſſue*, and examine the truth of your allegation and mine: where the Reader, I dare ſay, will not be ſo much ſurprized at *my boldneſs* in affirming, as at yours, in ſo *raſhly denying*, a fact, which is evident and known to all, who are converſant in *Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity*.

As for *Origen*; in the remains ſtill left us of

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 51.

his

his Works, we have proof enough of his attachment to the *allegorical Expoſition*, and contempt of the *literal*. St. *Jerom*, ſpeaking of him declares, *that he turned the ſtory of Paradiſe ſo wholly to Allegory, as to deſtroy or take away all the literal truth of it: by the Trees, underſtanding Angels; by the Rivers, Celeſtial Virtues*; &c. [*a*]. And the ſame *Father*, giving an account of another *Greek Expoſitor*, he had been reading, *on the ſtory of Melchiſedec*, ſays juſt the ſame of him too, *that he allegorized the whole in ſuch a manner, as to deſtroy the hiſtorical truth of it* [*b*].

St. *Auſtin* tells us; *that there were ſome, who interpreted the whole account of Paradiſe of things to be underſtood ſpiritually or allegorically, as if the things themſelves had not been really viſible, or corporeal, but delivered for the ſake of thoſe ſpiritual ſignifications* [*c*]. And though he declares on this occaſion for *holding faſt the Letter, along with the Allegory*; yet 'tis certain that he had once been of a different mind, and thought, that we could not explain *the Hiſtory of Man's Fall piouſly and worthily of God but in the allegorical way* [*d*]; and ſeems to have always held the ſame conſtant opinion, as to *the ſix days*

[*a*] Hieron. Op. T. 4. par. 2. p. 310. Edit. Benedict.
[*b*] Ibid. Tom. 2. par. 1. p. 574.
[*c*] De Civ. Dei. l. 13. c. xxi.
[*d*] De Geneſ. contr. Manich. l. 2. c. iii.

of

of the Creation, and to have looked upon them *as wholly allegorical* [*a*].

Thus, Sir, in direct contradiction to what you maintain, there were *ſeveral Writers in the primitive Ages, who thought the beſt way of vindicating Scripture in ſome inſtances to be by the help of Allegory, even to the deſertion of the Letter*: and this without any imputation on their zeal or ſincerity in their Religion, or the leaſt ſuſpicion of *Infidelity*. 'Twas the ſame caſe with the *Jewiſh Apologiſts*, particularly *Philo*, from whom I had drawn ſome teſtimonies to the very point: but you tell me peremptorily, *that I have miſtaken the ſenſe of every one of them* [*b*]. And to give us a general view in what ſenſe *Philo* is to be underſtood, you obſerve, *that he more than once cautions his readers againſt departing from the Letter of the Old Teſtament*, and ſays, *that all the Ceremonies relating to the Worſhip of the Temple and a thouſand other Precepts would be neglected, if we were to confine ourſelves onely to the allegorical Interpretation.* But what is this to the purpoſe? Or how does it confute what I have advanced? Is there the leaſt hint in *my Letter*, or the *Defence of it*, that *Philo* or the *Primitive Writers* maintained the *whole ſenſe of Scripture to be allegorical?* Might not *Philo* believe the *general ſenſe* to be *literal*,

[*a*] De Civ. Dei. l. 11. c. xxx.
[*b*] Reply to Defence, p. 51.

and

and yet hold ſome *particular paſſages* to be wholly *allegorical?* This ſurely is conſiſtent; and that it was the very caſe, we ſhall preſently ſee. For inſtance; *the Law*, ſays *Philo*, *accounts the Camel an unclean beaſt, becauſe though he chews the cud, he does not divide the hoof; now if we conſider this according to the outward Letter, 'tis hard to ſay, what ſenſe there is in it; but if according to the inward meaning; there is a moſt clear and neceſſary one*, &c. which he proceeds to explain. This paſſage I had produced before [*a*]; but as you have ſaid nothing to it in *your Reply*, I muſt confront you with it once again, the better to confine you to the *true ſtate of the Queſtion.* Let me aſk you then, whether *Philo*, in this inſtance, does not *actually vindicate Scripture by its allegorical meaning, in oppoſition to the literal one?* If he does; then all you have been ſaying about him has neither *truth nor ſenſe* in it: if he does not; then I am content to take whatever ſhame you pleaſe to throw upon me; even *the ſhare* you ſo candidly give me of *Mr.* Woolſton's *ſhame* [*b*].

You ſay that Philo *turns almoſt every thing to Allegory*; and yet by your uſe of him, one would imagine, that he had *turned nothing to Allegory.* But to drop for the preſent what you or I think, let's ſee what other Men of Learning, not heated in this Controverſy,

[*a*] Defence, p. 17. [*b*] Reply to Def. p. 51.

have thought of him with regard to this very queſtion. *Philo*, ſays *Photius*, *wrote Expoſitions on the Old Teſtament, turning almoſt every where the Letter to Allegory: and from him all that Cuſtom of allegorical Interpretation flowed into the Church* [*a*].

Sixtus Senenſis tells us of him, that *he affirms it to be a piece of ruſtick ſimplicity to believe literally, that the World was created in ſix days or in any certain time. And that ſeveral Catholick Authors had followed his opinion, as* Auſtin *among the* Latins, *and* Procopius *among the* Greeks [*b*]: *That he ſo treats what* Moſes *has ſaid of Paradiſe, as to deſtroy the literal Senſe of it; making the Garden, the Plants, and the other things deſcribed in it to contain nothing but Allegory. In which error he was followed,* he ſays, *by* Origen, *and very many Writers beſides*, as he ſhews afterwards [*c*]: and he declares, *that St.* Ambroſe *likewiſe in imitation of* Philo *ſeems to have underſtood the ſtory of Paradiſe wholly according to Allegory, rejecting the hiſtorical Senſe of it* [*d*]. And if we would know this Author's own opinion of *allegorical Interpretation*; he affirms it to be *by far the moſt uſeful for the eſtabliſhment of our Faith, and the inſtitution of our Manners*: and ſays further, *that ſhould the*

[*a*] Phot. Biblioth. p. 277.
[*b*] Sixt. Senenſ. Biblioth. l. 5. p. 338.
[*c*] Ibid. p. 340. [*d*] Ibid. 341.

enemies of the Law and the Prophets object to us and demand, for what reaſon God gave ſuch abſurd Laws; to cut off the Foreſkin, kill the Lamb, the Goat, &c. *we ſhould have no way of defending ourſelves but by the allegorical Senſe; without which all thoſe things muſt needs appear inſipid, ruſtick, and wholly unworthy the Divine Majeſty* [*a*]. And now, have I advanced any thing like this in favour of Allegory? Yet the Author who has advanced it, was a Man highly eſteemed and celebrated in his own time, not onely for his Learning, which was great, but for his *Piety and ſincere Zeal for Religion*, which were allowed to be as great.

To this Writer, who was a *Papiſt*, I ſhall juſt add a *Proteſtant*, *Rivetus*; who in theſe Points was as *highly orthodox*, and as great *an Advocate of the Letter* as yourſelf. Who declares, that St. *Auſtin* held *the ſix days of the Creation* to have an *allegorical Meaning onely*, and that *Philo*, *Procopius*, *Cajetanus are of the ſame opinion* [*b*]. Of the *laſt of whom* he intimates, that he held *the literal ſtory of* Eve *formed from the rib of* Adam *to be a ſilly one* [*c*].

By this time the Reader will be able to judge how *raſh* or *bold*, as you ſay, my Aſſertion is, *that*

[*a*] Sixt. Senenſ. Biblioth. l. 3. p. 141.
[*b*] Rivet. Exercitat. in Geneſ. c. 1. p. 9. Op. T. 1.
[*c*] Ibid. Oper. T. 2. p. 936.

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the Primitive Fathers and Jewiſh Apologiſts eſteemed the allegorical Expoſition to be on ſome occaſions the beſt Method of vindicating Scripture. But becauſe you puſh me ſo vigorouſly on this queſtion, I muſt beg leave to dwell a little longer on it.

Joſephus reflecting on the calumnies charged on the *Jews*, and the ridicule they underwent on the account of *the Tabernacle and prieſtly Veſtments* [a], ſays, that *whoever ſeriouſly conſiders the fabrick and conſtruction of them, will find the Lawgiver to have been a Divine Man, and that they are falſly reproached on this ſcore. For if we duly examine the Particulars with judgment and without envy, we ſhall diſcover them all to have been formed in imitation, or as a typical repreſentation of the Univerſe and its ſeveral Parts:* and he proceeds to explain this analogy or ſimilitude through all its Particulars. *The Tabernacle thirty cubits long, divided into three Parts, denotes*, he ſays, *the earth, the ſea, the heavens: the twelve loaves, the twelve months: the ſeven branches of the candleſtick, the ſeven planets*, &c. Now what is all this but recurring to *Allegory*, in order *to vindicate Scripture* from the *cavils and ridicule of Scepticks?*

I had produced likewiſe in *my Defence* a teſtimony from *Barnabas*; where *this Apoſto-*

[a] Antiq. l. 3. c. 7.

lical Writer declares, that Moſes *in prohibiting Swine's fleſh, meant onely to prohibit the keeping company with ſuch, as in their manners are like to Swine* [*a*]. And what do you ſay to this paſſage in *your Reply?* Why, you allow it to be a *ſtrong one* to the purpoſe; yet have the aſſurance to ſay, that I have *miſtaken every Paſſage produced to that purpoſe* [*b*].

I have alledged alſo *two other Quotations*, on the authority of *Cotelerius*, from *Tertullian* and *Origen*. Where the firſt ſays, *that nothing is ſo contemptible as the Moſaic Laws about the diſtinction and prohibition of animal food.* And the latter more freely; *that if we take them literally they are unworthy of God, and leſs rational than the Laws of Men; nay, that ſome of them are contrary to reaſon, and impoſſible to be obſerved* [*c*]. And here you take notice, *that I have ſtopped ſhort, not like a lover of truth*, without acquainting the reader with an obſervation, that follows, of *Cotelerius himſelf: that on the contrary very many paſſages might be collected out of the ſame Authors, which ſpeak in praiſe of the ſame Laws* [*d*]. But has *Cotelerius* produced any of thoſe paſſages? If he had, it would have been pertinent to conſider, how far they had balanced, or ſuperſeded the other. But ſince he has not done this, and what he has ſaid is not, as you have given it, but what

[*a*] Defence, p. 17. [*b*] Reply to Def. p. 51. 55.
[*c*] Def. p. 17, 18. [*d*] Reply to Def. p. 55.

ſhould

ſhould be rendered, that *many paſſages might be collected from the ſame Fathers, expreſſed more commodiouſly in praiſe of the ſame Laws:* ſo, till we ſee the Paſſages themſelves, and underſtand the force of what you had left out, *more commodiouſly*; the different paſſages may, for any thing we know to the contrary, be very well reconciled.

But you affirm, that *Cotelerius himſelf has wholly miſtaken the ſenſe of Tertullian*; and for the paſſage of *Origen, it effectually carries its own diſproof with it* [*a*]. We ſhall preſently ſee what judgment you ſhew in this affirmation. *It is plain*, you ſay, *that* Tertullian *is ſpeaking ironically of what* Marcion *and the Hereticks, and not what himſelf thought of thoſe Laws.* But it will be as plain I doubt, that though he is ſpeaking of *the Railleries of the Hereticks*, yet he allows the ground of that Raillery to be true, and owns the fact, that the *Laws are really fooliſh and contemptible* in themſelves, according to the dictates of *human Wiſdom*, and that God made uſe of them for the very reaſon *of their being contemptible*, in order to baffle the *knowledge and learning of the wiſe.*

In the other paſſage, you bring from *him*, he is onely ſuggeſting ſome reaſons which the *Divine Providence* might have for the Inſtitution of ſuch Laws: to give *a leſſon of abſtinence*,

[*a*] Reply to Defence, p. 56, 57.

and *a check to that gluttony, which,* (as he adds in words that we have wholly omitted) *when it was eating the food of Angels, yet longed for the Melons and Cucumbers of* Ægypt. An omiſſion, I don't take notice of, for the ſake of clamouring, as you do, about *falſifying and miſrepreſenting*; but to ſhew how dextrouſly you can ſkip over *a ſore place*; and evade the touching on any thing, that intimates *an inclination in the Jews,* to the *things of Ægypt.* And were I to inſiſt on the paſſage for any purpoſe of this Controverſy, you *would demonſtrate,* I dare ſay, *againſt Tertullian,* juſt as you did *againſt St. Stephen,* that *there was not ſo much as a Cucumber in* Ægypt *in* Moſes's *time.*

As to the teſtimony of *Origen, it carries,* you ſay, *its own confutation with it.* But, pray Sir, recollect here, what you are ſo apt on all occaſions to forget, the *real ſtate of the queſtion*; which does not turn on the truth or falſhood of what *Origen* has ſaid, but on the fact, *whether he has ſaid it or no.* If he has ſaid it, then my affirmation is true; *that the Primitive Writers eſteemed the allegorical way on ſome occaſions to be the onely method of vindicating Scripture*; and the negative you maintain is falſe. But I am at a loſs to underſtand how this *notion of* Origen *confutes itſelf.* Why, *he aſſerts,* you ſay, *that to be impoſſible, which in fact he knew to have been always obſerved.* But this ſhews onely the negligence of your own attention: for how could

could he be ſo groſs, as to charge an *impoſſibility*, on what he *really knew to be true?* Every one, I dare ſay, will ſee at once, that he meant ſomething very different from what you imagine, viz. *that ſome of thoſe Laws, which the* Jews *conſtantly obſerved, were yet from the nature of things impoſſible to be obſerved, in that full rigour and ſtrictneſs, which the literal command imports, and of which no exception or abatement was ſignified.* For inſtance; the Law, that prohibits *the eating of blood*, is *abſolute*; and the thing itſelf forbidden *in any manner or degree*; and *whoever eats it in any manner was to be cut off* [*a*]. Now is it poſſible to *eat any fleſh meat*, without *eating blood in ſome manner or ſome degree?* This might perhaps be one of the *Laws*, that *Origen* had regard to: where it may be anſwered, that God requires onely an *obedience adequate to our power*; and when we have diſcharged that, we have *ſatisfied the Law* however *abſolute*, or *rigorous:* yet what you anſwer is nothing to the purpoſe, and the effect onely of your own miſtake.

But ſince you ſeem to have ſo ſlight an opinion of *Origen*, as to think him abſurd enough even to *confute himſelf*; I will juſt give you a ſhort character of him, from a greater man than yourſelf; one of the greateſt that ever lived, *Eraſmus*; who declares, *that in the Ex-*

[*a*] Levit. iii. 17. vii. 26, 27.

poſition of the Scriptures, allowing for ſome particular points of Faith, he would prefer one Origen *to ten Orthodox* [*a*].

And now, to give my own opinion of this queſtion; I take the uſe of *Allegory in the Hiſtory of the Creation* and *Fall of Man*, to be in *ſome degree neceſſary*, to eſtabliſh the truth of the *Chriſtian Religion*; ſince all Expoſitors, who have conſidered with moſt attention the *general Scheme of Chriſtianity*, however differing in other Points, have commonly agreed in this. *Calmet* declares, that *it is extremely difficult to expound the firſt Chapters of* Geneſis *literally*; *eſpecially as to what regards the Fall of Man, and the Story of the Serpent: and that the Jews do not ſuffer their young Men under the age of twenty-five or thirty Years to read them.* And Dr. *W.* himſelf, in *vindicating one paſſage* of this very Hiſtory, about *God's walking in the Garden*, ſays, that *a Man muſt be next to an Idiot, who underſtands it literally.* As to the *Letter*, one thing at leaſt is certain, and we may aſſuredly draw *this hiſtorical truth from it*; that *God in the beginning created the World and all Things in it*; and *placed Man in a ſtate of bliſs and happineſs from which he fell by his own ſin and folly.* But whether this was brought about *exactly and*

[*a*] At ego in Scripturarum enarratione, unum Originem decem Orthodoxis antepoſuerim, exceptis aliquot dogmatibus fidei. in Gal. ii. 11. Crit Sacr.

literally,

literally, according to every circumſtance of *the Moſaic account*; with all the *Form and Machinery*, of *ſix days labour*; a *Paradiſe*, &c. as it is not, in my judgment, material to inquire, ſo I ſhall not take upon me to determine. All that I need ſay further on it is; firſt, that I never meant *to reject the Letter of Scripture abſolutely* in any caſe, but where 'tis found *inconſiſtent with Reaſon and the Attributes of God:* and there *all Divines* whatſoever muſt agree with me *in rejecting it*. Secondly, that had I *abſolutely rejected it* in ſome caſes; I had yet done no more than what *ſeveral Apologiſts of Chriſtianity* in all Ages had done before me, whoſe *piety and zeal for Religion* were never called in queſtion on that account.

I ſhall now in the laſt place give a diſtinct account of my Sentiments, concerning the *Divine Origin and Inſpiration of the Scriptures*. And as in *my Letter to Dr.* W. I had declared myſelf a *ſincere Chriſtian*, and repeated the ſame declaration in *my Defence* of it; ſo I had reaſon to expect, that however free and offenſive any of my expreſſions might appear to ſome, whom a narrow circle of life and ſtudies had rendered ſtiff in particular habits and opinions, yet in virtue of ſuch a declaration *my belief of an Article ſo fundamental*, would have been preſumed and taken for granted, and that I ſhould have been ſafe at leaſt from the *groundleſs and ſpiteful charge of Infidelity*; ſince in the character of

a Chri-

a Chriſtian I take to be neceſſarily included a *general belief of the Divine Origin and Inſpiration of the Books of the Old and New Teſtament*: a Doctrine too clearly delivered *in the Scriptures*, to be doubted of and called in queſtion by any one, who lays claim to that title. And as to the particular character and caſe of *Moſes*; I take him to have been *a great Prophet and Lawgiver*, who in an *extraordinary and miraculous* manner was *favoured, aſſiſted, and inſpired by God in the inſtitution of his Laws and Religion*, and conſequently had a *Divine Authority*, which is frequently appealed to and confirmed *in the New Teſtament*.

But as 'tis neceſſary to believe *of the Scriptures in general*, that they are *divinely inſpired*; ſo 'tis as neceſſary, from the evidence of plain facts and declarations in *thoſe very Scriptures*, to allow ſome exception to *the general rule*; nor to inſiſt, as ſome do, that *every word, ſentence, narration, hiſtory*; *or* indeed *every Book*, we call *canonical*, was *dictated by God*.

This is the onely notion expreſly affirmed by me, that can be thought to *weaken* in any manner *the Divine Authority of the Chriſtian Religion*: and 'tis indeed the onely one I ever intended to affirm on the ſubject: and if any thing be ſaid or puſhed further by me in either of my Pieces, than what the conſequences of this poſition will fairly juſtify, I retract and diſclaim it. Here

Here then I fix my foot; and take upon me to aſſert, that we are under no obligation of *Reaſon or Religion* to believe, that *the Scriptures are of abſolute and univerſal Inſpiration*; or *that every paſſage* in them was dictated *by a Divine Spirit:* and this I do from no other motive or view in the world, but a firm perſuaſion of the truth of it; and a perſuaſion likewiſe, that the allowance and declaration of that truth is not onely uſeful, but neceſſary to *a rational Defence of Religion.*

Now as this, I ſay, is the onely opinion, that I have directly aſſerted in this Controverſy, without the leaſt notice taken of it by you in *either of your Replies*; ſo did I not ſee you diſpoſed rather to *cavil at trifles* than *to join iſſue* on any queſtion of importance, I might reaſonably take it for a proof, that you look upon it as *orthodox and inoffenſive.* However, ſince paſſion and prejudice have ſo great a power in the world; and the ſeeds of rage may be already at work in the breaſts of ſome readers on the bare mention of ſuch a propoſition; I cannot but think it prudent, before I enter on any explication of it, to place in front before me *an authority or two of great name,* in order to break the force of the ſtorm, which, by what I have already experienced, I have too much reaſon to be apprehenſive of.

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The firſt authority I ſhall produce is of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*; whoſe words, in a *Sermon* on this very Subject, are as follow.

I ſhall onely ſay this in general; that conſidering the end of this Inſpiration, which was to inform the world certainly of the mind and will of God, it is neceſſary for every Man to believe, that the inſpired Penmen of Scripture were ſo far aſſiſted as was neceſſary to this end: and he that thinks upon good grounds, that this end cannot be ſecured, unleſs every word and ſyllable were immediately dictated, he had reaſon to believe it was ſo: but if any Man upon good grounds thinks the end of writing the Scripture may be ſufficiently ſecured without that, he hath no reaſon to conclude, that God, who is not wanting in what is neceſſary, is guilty of doing what is ſuperfluous. And if any Man is of opinion, that Moſes *might write the Hiſtory of thoſe actions, which he himſelf did or was preſent at, without an immediate Revelation of them; or that* Solomon, *by his natural and acquired Wiſdom might ſpeak thoſe wiſe ſayings which are in his* Proverbs; *or the Evangeliſts might write what they heard and ſaw, or what they had good aſſurances from others; as St.* Luke *tells he did: or that St.* Paul *might write for his Cloak and Parchments at* Troas, *and ſalute by name his friends and brethren; or that he might adviſe* Timothy *to drink a little wine,* &c. *without the immediate dictate of the Spirit of God, he*

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ſeems to have reaſon on his ſide. For that Men may without an immediate Revelation write thoſe things, which they think without a Revelation ſeems very plain. And that they did ſo, there is this probable argument for it, becauſe we find the Evangeliſts in relating the diſcourſes of Chriſt, are very far from agreeing in the particular expreſſions and words, though they do agree in the ſubſtance of the Diſcourſes: but if the words had been dictated by the Spirit of God, they muſt have agreed in them. For when St. Luke *differs from St.* Matthew, *in relating what our Saviour ſaid, it is impoſſible, that they ſhould both relate it right, as to the very words and forms of expreſſion; but they both relate the ſubſtance of what he ſaid,* &c. [*a*].

Now if we reflect on the *difference of ſtile in a Sermon*, from that of *a debate* in a Controverſy of Learning; and conſider the reſerve proper to the one, and the freedom neceſſary to the other; we ſhall find that I have affirmed nothing more in effect, than what this great Man had delivered from the *Pulpit*. He tells us, we ſee, *that thoſe who do not believe* Moſes *to have been univerſally inſpired in writing his Books, ſeem to have Reaſon on their ſide*; and ſuggeſts ſome probable arguments to prove, that *the Evangeliſts in compoſing theirs had no Revelation at all.*

[*a*] *Tillotſon's* Works, Vol. III. p. 449.

To

To the Authority of *the Archbiſhop*, I ſhall add that of *Grotius*; whoſe words are: *I have truly ſaid, that all the Books in the* Hebrews *in this matter ſtand. But there was no occaſion for hiſtories to be dictated by the Holy Spirit: 'twas enough for the Writer to have a good memory as to the things related, or diligence in copying the old Records. Beſides, the word, Holy Ghoſt, is ambiguous; for it either ſignifies, as I have taken it, a Divine Inſpiration, ſuch as the ordinary Prophets had, as alſo* David *and* Daniel *ſometimes; or it ſignifies a pious motion or impulſe to deliver ſome ſalutary precepts of life, or things political and civil; in which ſenſe* Maimonides *takes it, where he treats of Writings either hiſtorical or moral. If* Luke *had written his Books by the dictates of Divine Inſpiration, he would have choſen rather to eſtabliſh his Authority on that, than on the faith of the witneſſes he followed. So in writing the* Acts, *which he had ſeen done by* Paul, *he had no need of any Inſpiration. Why then do we receive* Luke's *Books, as Canonical? becauſe the Primitive Church judged them to be piouſly and faithfully written, and concerning things of the greateſt moment to Salvation* [*a*].

Under the ſhelter of theſe great names, of the *moſt rational Preacher*, and *the moſt rational*

[*a*] Grot. Votum pro pace, Artic. de Canonicis Scripturis, Op. T. 4. p. 672.

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Expoſitor of Scripture, that any *Chriſtian Age* has produced, I may venture to open my own opinion the more freely; ſo far at leaſt, as to ſhew the grounds on which 'tis built, which is all I think neceſſary at preſent, reſerving the fuller diſcuſſion of it to an opportunity of more leiſure.

Now in ſearching *the Scriptures*, to diſcover the real ſtate of this queſtion, I found it to no purpoſe to lay much ſtreſs on thoſe texts, that are uſually alledged on the occaſion; ſince by admitting a latitude and variety of interpretation they furniſh nothing deciſive, but leave room ſtill for freſh and endleſs ſquabbles: my buſineſs was to conſider chiefly the *matters of fact* delived there; the ſureſt foundation to build any perſuaſion upon; and to attend to the plain ſenſe and language of *thoſe facts*, when ſtript of the gloſſes and forced interpretations which *Commentators* would faſten on them in favour of *their ſyſtems* and *prejudices*.

For inſtance, as ſoon as *the Children of Iſrael* had made their retreat from *Ægypt*, and got any time to repoſe themſelves in the wilderneſs; we find *Moſes* employing himſelf *from morning to night in judging the people*, by *hearing and deciding all cauſes of diſpute among them*: this *Jethro his Father-in-law* obſerving, and reflecting on the fatigue and trouble it occaſioned both to *Moſes and the people*, took the liberty to re-

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preſent to him *the inconveniencies of this method*, and to convince him, that it was *quite wrong*, and what muſt of courſe tire out both himſelf and the multitude. He adviſed him therefore for his own eaſe, as well as the publick good, to chuſe out a number of able and honeſt men, to be ſet over the people as *their Judges* or *Rulers* in all ordinary caſes; in a proper ſubordination to each other according to their ſeveral abilities; *Rulers over thouſands, over hundreds, over fifties, over tens*; reſerving to himſelf the cognizance onely of *greater cauſes:* That he might not be drawn off from the more important part of his duty, *his attendance upon God*, and *the care of his Religion.* Upon which, *Moſes*, as we read, *hearkened to the voice of his Father-in-law, and did all that he had ſaid* [*a*]. And from what is related afterwards of the ſame fact, we learn, that *Moſes* had the *ſolemn conſent and approbation of the people*, before he put it in execution [*b*]. *Joſephus*, in his account of this ſtory, takes occaſion very juſtly to praiſe *the modeſty and ingenuity of* Moſes, *in not aſſuming to himſelf the credit of an invention ſo uſeful, but frankly aſcribing all the glory of it to its true Author* [*c*].

Now the inference I draw from this, is, that it appears very clearly from this *plain fact*, that

[*a*] Exod. xviii. 24. [*b*] Deut. i. 13.
[*c*] Antiq. l. 3. c. 4.

Moſes

Moſes in the caſe of *an Inſtitution* of great importance to the *whole body of his people*, and to the *good order and government of the Community*, had not the aſſiſtance of *any divine Inſpiration*, but derived the whole thought and deſign of it, from the advice and counſel of a wiſe and prudent man, of whom all that we know is, that he was *Prieſt of* Midian. If then there was *no Inſpiration* in the thing itſelf, there could be no occaſion for any in the narration of it; and conſequently *Moſes was not conſtantly and uniformly inſpired by God*, either in what he inſtituted, or what he has related.

As to what Biſhop *Tillotſon* has ſuggeſted in the other caſe of the Evangeliſts; and *Grotius* more particularly in *that of St.* Luke; 'tis certain, that there is in the *ſeveral Goſpels* ſuch a *diſagreement and variation in the accounts of the ſame facts*, as cannot by any wit of man be cleared from *the charge of Inconſiſtency*. As *in the Genealogy* of *Chriſt* [*a*]; in the account of *the woman who poured a box of ointment* [*b*]; of *two men poſſeſſed with Devils* [*c*]; of *two blind by the way ſide* [*d*]; of *the Thieves on the Croſs* [*e*]; of *the time and hour of our Saviour's crucifixion*;

[*a*] Matth. i. 1. Luke iii. 24.

[*b*] Matth. xxvi. 6. Mar. xiv. 3. Luke vii. 38. John xii. 1.

[*c*] Matth. viii. 28. Luke viii. 26.

[*d*] Matth. xx. 30. Mar. x. 46. Luke xviii. 35.

[*e*] Matth. xxvii. 44. Mar. xv. 32. Luke xxiii. 39.

fixion [*a*]; of *the circumſtances of what paſſed at his Sepulchre* [*b*], &c.

The Commentators, I know, have with fruitleſs pains ſtrained hard to *reconcile theſe differences*; and work them all up into *one uniform and conſiſtent narration*: but it had been, in my opinion, of more *ſervice to Religion*, had they been content rather to acknowledge fairly, what cannot be denied honeſtly, than labour as they do to ſupport *notions* in oppoſition to *things*; *ſyſtems* in contradiction to *facts*. For all theſe variations, as they affect onely *the circumſtances*, and not *the reality of the facts themſelves*; ſo they are ſo far from *hurting the cauſe of Chriſtianity*, or caſting *any blemiſh on the veracity of the Evangeliſts*, that they the more effectually confirm it. *This very thing*, ſays *Theophylact*, *gives the ſtronger proof of their integrity, that they have not agreed in all points: for otherwiſe they might be ſuſpected to have written by compact* [*c*].

Mark is obſerved by *all Expoſitors* to tread ſo cloſely *on the ſteps of* Matthew, and to agree *ſo minutely* with him in the circumſtances and even words of many of his narrations; that

[*a*] Mar. xv. 25. John xix. 14.

[*b*] Matth. xxviii. 2. Luke xxiv. 4. John xx. 11.

[*c*] Διὰ αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἀληθεύουσιν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πάντα ὡμοφώνησαν, &c. Theophyl, Proœm. in Matt.

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ſome believe him to have had *the uſe of* Matthew's *Goſpel* towards the forming his own: and what does *Religion* gain by the bargain? What fruit does it reap from this *great harmony?* Why, to find Mark's *authority diminiſhing* in proportion to *his exact agreement with* Matthew, and the character of an *Evangeliſt* dwindling into that of a *Tranſcriber*; which the Criticks generally impute to him [*a*]. The caſe would be ſtill worſe, were the *ſame minute agreement* obſerved in the *other Goſpels*; and the ſtrong foundation of a *Quadruple Teſtimony* would by that means be reduced to the queſtionable credit of *a ſingle Evidence*; ſo that as Dr. *Hammond* has judiciouſly remarked; *theſe variations in the Evangeliſts were neceſſary to make their teſtimonies ſeveral, and ſo to give them the greater authority by the number of them* [*b*].

But tho' theſe little *inconſiſtencies in the Goſpels* cannot be of any diſſervice, but of real uſe to Religion; yet they effectually confute the com-

[*a*] Marcus pediſſequus & breviator ejus videtur, *Auguſt. de Conſ. Evan. l.* 1. *p.* 3.

Marci Evangelium ejus, quod a Matthæo proditum eſt, videri poteſt Epitome. *Eraſm. in Luc.* i. 1.

Marcus autem Græcè compendium magis hiſtoriæ, quam hiſtoriam ſcripſerat. *Grot. Ibid.*

Uſum eſſe Marcum Matthæi Evangelio, apertum facit collatio, *Grot. in Mar.* i.

[*b*] *Hammond*'s Præf. to Annotat. on *Tit. Goſpel*, p. 4.—

mon *notion* and *hypotheſis*, that the *Evangeliſts* in compoſing them were under *the perpetual influence of a Divine, unerring Spirit*. For as Biſhop *Tillotſon* reaſons above, if they had been *abſolutely inſpired*, they muſt neceſſarily have *agreed as abſolutely* in their ſeveral Stories: but *ſince they are very far from agreeing in their accounts of what our Saviour ſaid*, 'tis impoſſible that *they ſhould all be inſpired*, as 'tis impoſſible that *they ſhould all be in the right*. This concluſion is clear and evident to every Man's ſenſe and reaſon; as certain, as the facts, 'tis grounded on, are certain: allow but the facts, and you of courſe eſtabliſh this conſequence. And in truth, whatever any *Divines* think fit to impute to the *Evangeliſts*, the *Evangeliſts themſelves* are ſo far from pretending to this privilege, of *univerſal Inſpiration* or *abſolute Infallibility*, that they in effect diſclaim it; and put their whole credit on a foundation meerly human, and common to all other Writers; *viz. their capacity or ability to know the truth of what they deliver, and their integrity in delivering it to the beſt of their knowledge* [*a*].

St. *Paul*, we know, declares himſelf on ſeveral occaſions *deſtitute of divine Inſpiration*. In *the Epiſtle to the Galatians*, *I ſpeak*, ſays he, *after the manner of men* [*b*]. Where *Jerom* obſerves, *that he makes good what he ſays*, and *by*

[*a*] Luke i. 1, 2. Jo. xix. 35. it. xxi. 24. it. 1 Ep. Jo. i. 1, 2, 3. [*b*] Gal. iii. 15.

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his low and vulgar reaſoning, and the improper application of certain words, might have given offence to prudent men, had not he prefaced, as he does, by diſavowing all pretence to Divine Inſpiration [*b*].

Many *facts and paſſages* might be produced from the *Old and New Teſtament*, to ſhew, that the *Sacred Writers* could not be *univerſally inſpired*: but I have ſaid enough *to declare my own opinion*, as well as to give a ſhort view of *the grounds* on which 'tis built, which I ſhall always be ready to explain more at large, if ever I am challenged to it by any Writer worth my notice.

I have now gone through all, that I found neceſſary to remark on *your ſecond Reply*. What I have omitted to take notice of, was not for want of a proper anſwer, but that I thought it either too trifling to deſerve any; or that it had been ſufficiently anſwered before. And after all this ſquabbling, the ſtate of the queſtions affirmed by me in the Diſpute ſtands thus:

[*a*] Unde manifeſtum eſt, id feciſſe Apoſtolum quod promiſit: nec reconditis ad Galatas uſum eſſe ſenſibus, ſed quotidianis & vilibus, & quæ poſſent, niſi præmiſiſſet, *ſecundum hominem dico*, prudentibus diſplicere, Hier. Comm. in Gal. 3. Op. T. 4.

1. That *the* Jews *borrowed ſome of their Ceremonies and Cuſtoms from* Ægypt.
2. That *the* Ægyptians *were in poſſeſſion of Arts and Learning in* Moſes's *time.*
3. That *the Primitive Writers, in order to vindicate Scripture, thought it neceſſary in ſome caſes to recur to Allegory.*
4. That *the Scriptures are not of abſolute and univerſal Inſpiration.*

Theſe are the *chief* if not the *onely facts*, that I have in any manner declared for in *my Two Pieces:* and after all that has been ſaid, I do not find the leaſt reaſon to change my opinion in any of them: they all ſtand in the end of the Controverſy, as firm as they did in the beginning; as every reader will obſerve: and what greater proof can be given of the impertinence of *Two Replies*, than that they have left *the principal Facts*, in diſpute, in the ſame ſtate as they found them? If therefore, Sir, you ever attempt a *third*, it will be expected, that you expreſly and directly attack *theſe very Facts*, or elſe your attempt will be nothing at all to the purpoſe.

I muſt obſerve likewiſe, that, after all this *clamour and ſenſeleſs charge of Infidelity*, I have ſhewn my Sentiments to be entirely agreeable, to what the *zealous and learned Advocates of Chriſtianity* have clearly aſſerted in all ages, as neceſſary

ceſſary to *a rational defence of it.* If *Religion* indeed conſiſts in what *our modern Apologiſts* ſeem to place it, the *depretiating moral Duties*, and *the depreſſing natural Reaſon*; if *the duty of it* be, what their practice ſeems to intimate, to *hate and perſecute for a different way of thinking* in points, where the beſt and wiſeſt have never agreed; then I declare my ſelf *an Infidel*, and to have no ſhare of *that Religion.* But if to *live ſtrictly* and *think freely*; to practiſe *what is moral*, and to believe *what is rational*, be conſiſtent with *the ſincere profeſſion of Chriſtianity*; then I ſhall always acquit myſelf like one of *its trueſt Profeſſors.*

REMARKS

ON SOME

OBSERVATIONS,

Addreſſed to the AUTHOR

OF THE

LETTER

TO

Dr. *WATERLAND.*

By the Author of the Letter.

REMARKS

ON SOME

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

THE *Letter to Dr. W.* had been publiſhed near three years, and the Controverſy, that followed it, quite over and almoſt forgotten, when theſe *Obſervations upon it* appeared in print: and as there ſeem'd to be very little prudence in reviving a debate that had been managed with ſo much heat; ſo it was reaſonable, after ſo long an interval, to expect at leaſt a calm and diſintereſted enquiry into the ſtate of it, and the moments of truth produc'd on either ſide.

But inſtead of this, I was ſurprized to find no argument of Learning, no point of Religion treated in them; nothing by which the publick could either be entertain'd or edified; nothing but a virulent, malicious invective; to prove the purpoſe of my writings, and even *my heart to be intirely infidel.* [p. 10.]

As to the merit of the performance, 'tis much below my notice; nor ſhould I have taken the trouble of animadverting upon it, but

but for the occaſion of opening my mind more clearly in ſome points wherein I find my ſelf miſrepreſented; as well as to expoſe more diſtinctly to publick view, that genuine Spirit of Modern Orthodoxy and its Advocates, which I have declared againſt ſo freely, as pernicious to publick peace and liberty: for had this Author written on purpoſe to confirm the character I have given of it, he could not have done it more effectually, than by producing this original to confront with my picture.

He ſets out by declaring, that the profeſſion I make of an *impartial love for truth*, encouraged him to make this addreſs to me, in hopes of drawing from me an ingenuous confeſſion of my errors; and he opens his ſecond paragraph by obſerving, that *I can retract an error of inadvertence with a tolerable good grace:* this had ſome appearance of candour; and flattered ſtill the hopes I had entertain'd of a temperate review of the controverſy; but he ſcarce proceeds a line farther, before his *Orthodox Spirit* begins to work; and the encouraging hopes conceived of me in the firſt paragraph, become improbable in the ſecond, quite deſperate in the third, where I am declared *the laſt man, who will own the force of any conviction; who would ſooner give up every article of faith, than part with one doit of admiration.* [2] And as the Spiritual Thermometer riſes, with the increaſing heat of his zeal, ſo my character gradually ſinks,

ſinks, from *rude to prophane*; [9] from *profane* to *infidel*; [10] nay *much worſe than infidel*; [39, 40] ſo profligate, that the *meekeſt man alive can't help being provok'd at me*; [9] *that charity itſelf can make no excuſe for me*; [11] and ſo abandon'd at laſt, that 'tis not poſſible for me *to believe a God.* [23, 39.]

He allows, that I have argued *againſt the Infidel plan in a manner ſtrictly concluſive*; [5] that I declare myſelf a Chriſtian; am angry for being *barely ſuſpected* of the contrary; [4] that *I diſavow all notions derogatory to the true honour of* Moſes: [21] and where my words and actions ſo well agree, there was ſome room ſurely for a charitable thought of me; ſome ground to think that I could not be in the ſame ſentiments with the man I was confuting: yet he makes no ſcruple to affirm, that *Charity itſelf cannot excuſe me*; that *'tis no breach of it to believe me an infidel.* 'Tis plain that his charity muſt be of a quite different kind from that which St. *Paul* recommends, that which *ſuffereth long, and is kind*; *that thinketh no evil*; *that believeth all things*; *hopeth all things.* [1 Cor. xiii.]

But how is it after all that he proves me to be an Infidel? becauſe I differ from thoſe, who aſſume to themſelves the title of *Orthodox*, in my notions of *Inſpiration and the neceſſity of it*; in which the writers of all ages have differed from

from each other, without any ſuch imputation; and the Divines are ſo divided at this day, that many will think me the founder Chriſtian, for the very ſame cauſe that he excludes me from the number of them. Were it worth while to retort the charge on himſelf, I could do it with much more reaſon, not by any cavils, or diſtinctions, which few people underſtand; but from plain and evident principles in which all Chriſtians agree; or to uſe his own words, from *every daſh of his pen*; *his envenom'd pages*; [2, 40] inveterate ſpite, malice, and the want of every Chriſtian grace, ſupplied onely by a *bigotted Jewiſh zeal*, and the pretext of an *Orthodox Faith*.

The cauſe of all this rage againſt me is my treating Dr. *W.* it ſeems, in ſo *rude and contemptuous* a manner; [p. 4] and with *ſuch ungenteel language as eyes were never ſurfeited with*. [7] Yet this rudeneſs and ſtrange language of mine amount to nothing more than *to dull*, *dogmatic*, *pedantic*, *bigotted* [2] names, not applied to Dr. *W.* but in general onely, to certain Divines, who by their method of vindicating Religion, ſeem to have a juſt title to them. So weak and blunt is my poor ſpleen, for want of an *Orthodox edge*; for want of being temper'd in that *holy fire!* but I muſt needs be an unequal match for writers, trained and diſciplin'd in all the arts of ſcolding: as in a fam'd *Archdeacon's late charge to his Clergy:* where inſtead of inſtructing

ſtructing them in Chriſtian principles; how to overcome evil with good; to recommend Religion by their practice; and conquer the prejudices of its enemies by the innocence of their lives; to excell in virtue and learning; *&c.* inſtead of this, I ſay, the whole purpoſe of his harangue is to exhort them to *call names ſtoutly, and to ſcold manfully:* wherever they find a *Deiſt* to call him roundly an *Atheiſt*; and a man who *believes nothing*, more *credulous*, than if he *believed every thing*. [Dr. *W.*'s ſecond Charge, p. 7, 21.]

But whatever harm my malice deſign'd to Dr. *W.* it has quite defeated itſelf, by giving the alarm to ſuch *able pens and learned hands to come in to his aſſiſtance*; [p. 6] and to this *Great Orator* of ours to celebrate his praiſes with ſo much eloquence. An *excellent perſon*; *unwearied in his reſearches of uſeful ſcience*; *a ſucceſsful defender of one important Article*; *and a ſeaſonable Vindicator of the Scriptures in general.* [4] *Of learning, induſtry, exactneſs of judgment remarkably great and extenſive,* [6] *one of the greateſt ſcholars and Divines of the age,* [7] &c. but the peculiar merit of the Doctor, for which all the world, he tells us, *has reaſon to thank him*, is his wonderful art of inventing *ſo many different ſolutions to the ſame difficulties*; *and diverſifying his arguments, ſo that ſome or other may hit and affect men of all tempers and diſpoſitions.* [6] As if the Advocates of Religion were to conſider onely

onely what is palatable; not what is true; and to apply to the affections, not to the reaſon of men: for let his *ſolutions be never ſo many*; his arguments never ſo *diverſified*; 'tis poſſible, that they all may be falſe; and almoſt certain, that no more than one of them can be true: but no matter for that, if they *hit men's tempers* and *ſuit their apprehenſions*, 'tis juſt the ſame, we ſee, to this pious Obſervator.

But though Dr. *W.* with all his ſkill can furniſh nothing to *pleaſe my palate:* yet *he has the happineſs*, it ſeems, *to ſee all his Explications of Scripture confirmed by able pens and learned hands:* [6] and for this we are referred to the Author *of Revelation examin'd with candour.* A ſingle Author indeed, but of weight enough to ſupply the place of many. For whatever he may ſay of Dr. *W.* 'tis this Author, I know, who paſſes with our Obſervator and all others of his principles, for the very *Hero of modern Orthodoxy*; *the ſcourge of Infidels*; allowed to have a far better fancy for *ingenious ſolutions* than all the other *vindicators* put together.

I am angry, he ſays, with Dr. *W.* becauſe he *excels in his profeſſion, writes with ſuperior learning, and what is more unpardonable, believes what he writes.* [8] As to his *ſuperior learning*, I have no intention to diſpute it with him; eſpecially if 'tis to be meaſured by *a ſuperiority of his Faith.* My *Faith* is of an humble kind; claims

claims no other merit, than of being a ſlave to my *reaſon*; to whoſe dictates it pays an abſolute ſubmiſſion: whatever my reaſon declares to be true, I cannot help believing; what it declares to be otherwiſe, 'tis not in my power to believe, though all the rewards in the world were offer'd me.

If Dr. *W.*'s Faith be of the ſame kind with mine; a principle grounded on the perception of truth; it might be reaſonable to allow from a *ſuperiority of his Faith*, a *ſuperiority of Knowledge*; and whenever I fall ſhort of him, I could onely ſay, what was ſaid to one, who was affirming a ſtrange ſtory; *you, who know the fact to be true, have more reaſon to believe it, than I, who do not:* in the mean while, all that I can ſay, is, that if it be not in our power to believe what we pleaſe, and if all rational faith muſt be the effect of rational conviction, then to believe or not to believe, as 'tis a thing indifferent and no way criminal, ſo ought to make no difference of character among reaſonable men: whoever takes pains to inform himſelf, and believes on the beſt information, whatever be the ſum of his faith, is certainly the ſoundeſt believer; and generally ſpeaking, it ſeems to be in minds, as 'tis in bodies, a ſure proof of ſoftneſs, where every thing that ſtrikes them, is apt to make an impreſſion.

Were I to gueſs at the character of our *Obſervator*, by the character of his writing; I ſhould take him for ſome young, academical Adventurer; who had been drawing out the flowers of his rhetorick, and emptying his Common-place-book againſt me: *Procruſtes*; *Salmoneus*; *flammas Jovis, ſonitus olympi*; *nec lex juſtior ulla*, &c. [p. 3, 21, 40]; the trite examples of every boy's declamation, are the onely inſtances he has given of his great erudition.

His ſolœciſms and blunders in language, and in ſenſe, when he labours moſt to raiſe his ſtyle, confirm the ſame conjecture. He talks [39] *of eyes ſurfeiting with language*; [7] *of dirt recoiling without reaching the mark*, [8] *of fire a reſervoir to lodge infection in*, [40] &c. *reſervoirs of water* we often hear of; but this of fire is an invention of his own; and the reſt of the paragraph is a piece of nonſenſe ſo ſublime, that without attempting any explication of it, I ſhall lay it before the reader juſt as I find it. *The waters, earth and heavens have been ſufficiently polluted already; and this element onely remains to purify the reſt, and diſperſe the peſtilential vapours, which your envenomed pages have ſcattered in the world.* [40]

Theſe abſurdities in ſtyle and ſenſe naturally lead me to think of ſome forward youthful writer;

ter; but when I conſider his high opinion
l great conceit of his own underſtanding;
), 22, 34] his progreſs in *Orthodoxy*; his
ning zeal and holy fury that animate every
ge; things unknown and unnatural to a
r; I am forced to turn my thoughts to one
more years and experience: and ſhould
much concern'd for the ſake of the Uni-
ſity which I love; if any member of it, who
ports any character, or enjoys any honours
re, ſhould be found capable of ſo wretched
l contemptible, as well as ſo malicious and
ked a performance. But 'tis time to leave
at is perſonal, and examine the little of
ſoning and argument he pretends to; which
ſiſts of two points.

1. That I am an Infidel; labouring to weaken the authority of Scripture, and by conſequence the foundation of Chriſtianity.
2. That my book therefore ought to be burnt and myſelf baniſh'd, agreeably to my own reaſoning againſt the Author of *Chriſtianity as old*, &c.

For the proof of my infidelity he appeals to paſſage of the Letter to Dr. *W.* wherein 'tis
d, that the *example of Joſephus, a learned
l zealous Jew, might teach us to entertain
re moderate and qualified ſentiments of the divine
gin of the Law, and the divine Inſpiration of*

Moſes. Upon which he begs leave *to aſk this plain queſtion*, ſufficient, he thinks, to confound me. *What can you mean by more moderate and qualified ſentiments, but that the Law had no divine origin, its Founder no divine inſpiration; ſince there can be no medium between divine and not divine?* [p. 15]

I have already explain'd my meaning very fully and clearly on this head [*a*]; but ſince he either cannot or will not comprehend me, I am content to declare it once more: That whereas the modern Advocates of Chriſtianity inſiſt, that every word of the *Moſaic writings muſt be received as divinely inſpired; every act of Moſes as miraculouſly directed from heaven*; my opinion is, that with *the notion of general Inſpiration*, which I readily allow, we are obliged by fact and the hiſtory itſelf, to admit a diſtinction and exception in ſome *particular paſſages of the Law*; ſome *particular acts* of its Founder.

But the greateſt ſcandal I have given, is by imputing, as he urges, ſome *kind of fiction to Moſes.* [22] I have indeed propoſed it as a problem, but with all the diffidence and caution imaginable [*b*], *Whether ſome degree of*

[*a*] See Remarks on a Reply to the Defence of the Letter, p. 68, *&c.*

[*b*] See *Defence of a Letter to Dr.* W. *p.* 45. It. *Remarks on a Reply*, p. 50, 51.

fiction

fiction may not poſſibly be allowed in certain caſes, to ſolve the difficulties of the Moſaic writings, without any hurt to their authority. This our Obſervator treats as downright Blaſphemy and *Atheiſm itſelf*; [23] declares *all fiction inconſiſtent with any degree of Inſpiration,* [21] *unworthy of a man divinely inſpired:* [31] and reproaches me for defending *political lying, for the good of the people; and being the firſt Chriſtian writer that ever maintain'd ſo ſtrange doctrine.* [20]

I do not take notice of this to defend Political Lying, or to confirm my own reaſoning, but to expoſe the folly and raſhneſs of his. What I mentioned on that ſubject, I drew from the *beſt Moraliſts of the Heathen world*; and ſhewed withal, by the teſtimony of ſome of the *Primitive Fathers*, that the notion was ſuppos'd to be borrowed from *Moſes* himſelf: and it were as eaſy to ſhew, what he ſo raſhly denies, that almoſt all the Chriſtian Writers, from the earlieſt Ages, and very beſt Authors of Morality in theſe later times, *Grotius, Puffendorf*, &c. hold it to be as innocent in ſome caſes, to *deceive the people for their good*, as for *Parents to deceive their Children, Phyſicians their Patients*; which is all the length that I have ever gone or ever meant to go in favour of any deceit or fiction whatſoever.

But this, he tells us, *is giving a greater power*

to Governours, than God himſelf claims; of diſpenſing with the ſacred and inviolable laws of truth. [20] Strange how he chanced to ſtumble on *the ſacred and inviolable laws of truth:* writers of his claſs never raiſe their thoughts ſo high; or venture ſo far from ſhore; but ſtick cloſe to the *infallible word, and univerſal Inſpiration of the Bible.* If there be any ſuch laws, as without all doubt there are, 'tis certain that the Bible itſelf muſt be tried by them. And if they can't be diſpens'd with by God, there ſeems to be little ſenſe in what Dr. *W.* often alledges in his vindications of Scripture; that *the command of God alters the nature of the thing:* for is not *that to diſpenſe with his ſacred and inviolable laws?* But our Obſervator, having over-ſhot himſelf here, before he was aware, makes a quick retreat into his old trenches of *abſolute Inſpiration*, and leaves the laws of truth and reaſon to ſhift for themſelves.

He affirms *all degrees of fiction to be inconſiſtent with any degree of Inſpiration.* Yet it would not be difficult to give inſtances of *ſome degree of it*, through all the *inſpired Writers* both of the Old and New Teſtament. Pray what was St. *Paul* doing, when he became *all things to all men?* Was he not employing *ſome little degree* of fiction? When our Saviour appeared to the Diſciples going to *Emmaus*; the very purpoſe of his appearing was, *to tarry with them a while in the inn*; yet

he

he made as if he would go farther, till they conſtrain'd him. (Luke xxiv.) Is not this likewiſe ſome *ſmall degree of it?* how raſh then is his Aſſertion; that the leaſt *degree of fiction is inconſiſtent with his nature, whoſe Law is the truth?* [23]

But I *take ſhelter*, it ſeems, *in partial Inſpiration, and bring the great names of Grotius and Tillotſon to protect me in it.* Upon which he obſerves, that *had I done as much for Chriſtianity as they, I might have had ſome plea to be indulg'd in the like particularities.* [33] A fine obſervation truly! as if a greater merit gave a greater right to deliver what was falſe or hurtful to Chriſtianity: no, the greater their ſervices, the greater is the preſumption, that they were ſtill carrying them on, perfecting their work: and in my opinion, they could not have done greater, than by beating down the ſyſtems and prejudices of zealots, and fairly owning facts that lie open and viſible to every rational Chriſtian. But they, it ſeems, *onely modeſtly ſuggeſt, that in a few inſtances of no moment, the ſuperintendence of the Holy Spirit might be ſuſpended.* Yet their few and modeſt ſuggeſtions reach ſo far as to intimate; that in *the hiſtorical*, and even *the moral books of Scripture* there is no neceſſity for Inſpiration; ſince natural Talents are ſufficient to diſcover and evince the truth: contrary to our Obſervator's aſſertion, that all *the influence and truth of Scri-*

pture depend on its Inſpiration. [31] As if nothing could be true, or deſerve to be conſider'd as ſuch, unleſs *divinely inſpired.*

'Tis the reaſoning of all divines, that the *truth of the Goſpels* ſtands on the ſame bottom with every other *hiſtorical truth* in the world: and conſequently, to deny their authority, is to deny the faith and truth of all hiſtory, and to deſtroy at once the credit of all antiquity. This reaſoning is juſt and ſtrong, if the Goſpels be of the ſame claſs and ſpecies with other hiſtories; a narration of facts by credible perſons, who knew them to be true, and related what they knew of them: but 'tis of very little force, if they muſt needs be received as *univerſally and abſolutely inſpired by God:* for in this view they have no relation to other hiſtories; ſtand on a quite different bottom; and their credit may be diſputed, without hurting common faith or common hiſtory.

To give aſſent to facts affirmed by proper witneſſes, as 'tis an act highly rational, ſo 'tis all that is wanted to give them a reception in the world. The character of Inſpiration ſuperadded ſerves onely to introduce difficulties and doubts, where all was clear before, and caſt an air of impoſture over the whole. In the caſe therefore of the Goſpels, where, according to *Grotius* and *Tillotſon*, there is no want of ſuch Inſpiration, and where we find no claim or pretence

tence to it; the aſſerting it to be neceſſary ſeems dangerous to Chriſtianity itſelf, by unhinging and perplexing its proper and natural evidence.

But beſides the great names of *Grotius* and *Tillotſon*, I brought a greater ſtill for my opinion, that of St. *Paul*; who owns himſelf on ſome occaſions *deſtitute of divine Inſpiration.* This our Obſervator grants in two places; but for a third, where the Apoſtle declares, that he *ſpeaks after the manner of men* [*a*], he affirms it to be *nothing to the purpoſe:* [25] for if *he did not ſpeak after the manner of men*, ſays he, *how would it be poſſible for men to underſtand him?* But if thoſe words of St. *Paul* relate to the manner of ſpeaking onely, what occaſion for a diſtinction, where there can be no difference, whether *inſpired or not?* for in both caſes he muſt *ſpeak to the ſenſes*, and draw his arguments from *the notions of men*, or they could be no argments at all to mankind. No, he ſeems to me to ſignify here what he does in the other places, that he is not delivering the dictates of God, but his own natural ſentiments, as other men ordinarily do.

St. *Jerom* confirms this opinion, as our Obſervator allows, but whilſt he allows the thing, with the uſual art of theſe writers, he cavils

[*a*] Gal. iii. 15.

at

at my words; and exclaims, that *Jerom does not ſay, what I make him to ſay*, that St. *Paul diſavows all pretence to divine Inſpiration.* [26] And yet, 'tis the whole purpoſe of *Jerom*'s argument to aſſert and prove the very thing. But to ſhew the contrary, he gives us, what he calls a *juſter tranſlation than mine, and nearer the original of Jerom's words.* The old method of blowing up envy againſt me; by calling that a *tranſlation*, which I never deſign'd for ſuch; but for an extract onely of an Author's ſentiments; which is the caſe at preſent: for does not *Jerom*, in the place I refer to, affirm, that St. *Paul has miſtaken the ſenſe, and made an improper application of a certain word, on which his argument turns?* This, though intimated by me [*a*], is not found in the words I produce, but is found however in the context, which our Obſervator could not be ignorant of. With what face then does he call that a *tranſlation*, and arraign it as imperfect, which he knows could never be meant for one? 'tis onely to raiſe a clamour and ſupport the falſe charge he revives againſt me, *of perverting and miſapplying my principal teſtimonies.* [43]

To return to the caſe of Inſpiration, he allows, that St. *Paul* on ſome occaſions declares himſelf deſtitute of it. [25] Yet in ſpite of St. *Paul*'s conceſſion and his own, he perſiſts

[*a*] *See* Remarks on a Reply, 78.

ſtoutly

ſtoutly to maintain the *abſolute and unlimited Inſpiration of all the Scriptures; that their influence and truth depend upon it.* [31] *That there's a neceſſity to admit or reject the whole.* [34] *That the onely baſis of Chriſtianity is the infallible truth, and univerſal Inſpiration of the ſacred Books.* [43] What pure and genuine Orthodoxy is this? to believe againſt the conviction even of ſenſe; againſt the evidence of plain fact; to ſubdue reaſon, judgment, and every faculty to Faith.

As for the reaſon of his Faith, he tells us gravely, that *partial Inſpiration will in the end be no Inſpiration at all.* [34] For, when *every man has pick'd and cull'd out of his Bible what he does not like, very little of genuine Inſpiration will be left behind.* But muſt we then reject a fact becauſe of its conſequences? and muſt we not be content with our Religion, juſt as God has given it us? To ſtrengthen what is from God, by adding to it, is juſt as impious as to weaken it by detracting from it. *Partial Inſpiration* is a fact, which the hiſtory and teſtimony of the Scriptures themſelves demonſtrate: whatever be the effects of it, 'tis neceſſary to ſubmit to them. It may probably overthrow the Syſtems of antient or modern Divines; but cannot poſſibly hurt any truth or article of Faith, that is neceſſary to be believ'd.

2. I proceed now to the other part of our Ob-

Obſervator's argument, or the ſentence he has pronounced againſt me; *that my book ought to be burnt, and my ſelf baniſh'd.* This he pretends to ground on my own reaſoning againſt the *Author of Chriſtianity as old*, &c. that ſince I have *ſuggeſted this as a juſt puniſhment of an Author, in many reſpects leſs criminal than my ſelf, and thought him worthy of ſo rigorous a treatment, my puniſhment ought to be the more remarkably ſevere.* [40, 41] But here again, as in moſt other places, he miſtakes and miſrepreſents me. I have declar'd no opinion; ſuggeſted nothing about it of my own: my meaning was to ſtate a mere fact, as it ſtood among the antients; and to wipe off a ſcandal imputed to Chriſtianity, of having introduced into ſociety a ſpirit of perſecution unknown to the Heathens; by ſhewing, in contradiction to the *Author of Chriſtianity as old*, &c. that the Pagans puniſh'd men for opinions; had their *Holy Wars* and *Religious Teſts* as well as we. I am far from affirming with our *Obſervator*, that theſe principles *are right, agreeable to Chriſtianity, the maxims of Reaſon, and the laws of Society:* [40] no; my opinion is juſt contrary; that Reaſon was as much abuſed then, as Chriſtianity is now, whenever any free debate or inquiry after Truth is made puniſhable for the ſake of it; or indeed for any other cauſe, than as it actually diſturbs the quiet of the State. My reaſoning againſt the *Author of Chriſtianity as old*, &c. is a mere argument *ad hominem*;

to

to prove that an attempt to aboliſh Chriſtianity is contrary to the very maxims of Reaſon and Morality, that he himſelf lays down. If I do not miſtake his purpoſe; I take my reaſoning to be juſt: if I do; my argument is ſo far weaken'd by it, as 'tis pointed ſingly againſt a deſign to ſubvert the eſtabliſh'd Religion, in order to advance Reaſon in its place, as a more perfect guide to the people.

If the Religion of a country was to be conſider'd onely as an Impoſture; an engine of government to keep the people in order; even there an endeavour to unhinge it, unleſs with a deſign to ſubſtitute a better in its ſtead, would in my opinion be highly unreaſonable. But ſhould the Prieſts of ſuch a Religion, for the ſake of their authority and power, labour to impoſe their own fictions for divine truths; to poſſeſs the people with an enthuſiaſtic zeal for them; manageable onely by themſelves, and to be played even againſt the government, as oft as it ſerved their ſeparate intereſts; in ſuch a caſe, 'tis the duty of every man, who loves his country, and his fellow creatures, to oppoſe all ſuch attempts; to confine Religion to its proper bounds; to the uſe for which it was inſtituted; of inſpiring benevolence, modeſty, ſubmiſſion into the people: nor ſuffer the credit of it to grow too ſtrong for that of the State; the authority of the Prieſt, for that of the Magiſtrate.

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Was Religion, I ſay, to be conſider'd as an impoſture, all men would think this conduct reaſonable: and where it is in reality a *Revelation from Heaven*, the caſe is not altered, as far as the end of that Revelation is perverted and abuſed by the arts or the folly of men: as the *Jewiſh* was by the *Phariſees*; the *Chriſtian* by ſome of its *modern Advocates*. In ſuch circumſtances, in proportion as a man values his Religion, and believes it to be of God, he will exert himſelf to clear it from all human impoſitions; which render it either of no effect, or of a miſchievous one to ſociety; propagating *rage and ſtrife and every evil work*, inſtead of the peace and happineſs 'twas deſign'd to introduce. And if the end of all Revelation be to enforce with greater vigour, and by means more affecting to ſenſe, the obligations of the natural Law; thoſe Prieſts are the trueſt friends to God and man, who labour to adapt it the moſt effectually to that end; to expound it by the known principles of reaſon and morality; and to make it amiable, by making it plain, rational, intelligible to common underſtandings.

As for thoſe, who take the contrary way; who either deny all natural law, or make it bend as they pleaſe, to their own comments on Scripture; who build Religion on a principle of faith, diſtinct from reaſon; look on the latter

latter with a jealous eye, as an inſtrument and engine of Satan; who meaſure all truth by authority; all credibility by teſtimony; by which authority ſtill and teſtimony they mean little more than their own, and to draw the greater dependance on themſelves; for theſe writers, I ſay, 'tis the duty of every rational Chriſtian, to expoſe their principles, as ſlaviſh and ſuperſtitious; deſtructive of that good, for which all Religion was given; turning the beſt thing in the world into the worſt; a Revelation from heaven, into a doctrine hurtful and pernicious to mankind.

And; where Religion, as with us, is received as of divine Authority, and on the beſt grounds and reaſons embrac'd as ſuch; though I greatly condemn the perverſeneſs of conteſting truths ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed, yet I cannot think it agreeable either to Reaſon or Religion, to puniſh even ſuch, as are hardy enough to call in queſtion the reality of Revelation itſelf: for 'tis the greateſt weakneſs and abſurdity to think, that truth can ever be hurt by any examination whatſoever: it may be oppreſſed a while by faction, ſtifled by power; but in a free debate, as in free air and exerciſe, it always regains its ſtrength and vigour: controverſy to truth, is like a gentle wind to trees; it ſhakes the head, but faſtens the root. Truth is naturally ſo amiable, that wherever 'tis expos'd to view, it neceſſarily draws all to admire it; and the more

more 'tis expos'd, the more ſtrongly it attracts. Where artifice indeed and fraud prevail in the ſtead of it, there all inquiry muſt induſtriouſly be diſcouraged, as a dangerous and fatal enemy; ſure to detect and expoſe the cheat: and wherever 'tis diſcourag'd, there's always reaſon to ſuſpect ſome latent impoſture: now as ſure as Truth and Falſhood are contrary to each other; ſo ſure it is, that the ſame method of treating them cannot poſſibly be of ſervice to both.

As far as my experience has reached, either in ancient or modern Hiſtory, there's not an inſtance on record, where a fair examination has ever done harm to a good cauſe. The attacks on Chriſtianity, urged on by its warmeſt enemies, always turn to its advantage: they engage the Clergy to ſtudy and ſearch into the true grounds of it; keep them in breath and exerciſe; and train them by conſtant diſcipline, to be able champions and defenders of it: they clear Religion it ſelf of all the ruſt and rubbiſh, which by the negligence or the art of its managers, it may have contracted: and above all, they enforce and lay open the genuine proofs of it; which by time itſelf naturally grow languid and ineffectual; till a new debate, like a new publication, ſends them freſh again into the world, in their original force and luſtre.

'Tis

'Tis then my firm principle and perſuaſion, that a free inquiry into all points of Religion, is always uſeful and beneficial; and for that reaſon never to be puniſh'd or prohibited. It opens the minds and reforms the manners of the people; makes them reaſonable, ſociable, governable; eaſy to ſuch as differ from them, and as little ſcandaliz'd at the different opinion, as the different complexion of their neighbour: whereas the reſtraint of this liberty, and the impoſition of ſyſtems and articles, that muſt not be call'd in queſtion, nouriſhes a churliſh ſpirit of bigotry, uncharitableneſs, enthuſiaſm, which no Civil Power can moderate; a ſpirit that has ſo oft involv'd mankind in wars and bloodſhed; and by turns endanger'd the ruin of every Chriſtian Country in the World.

If therefore in my argument againſt *Chriſtianity as old*, &c. I am underſtood to recommend or ſuggeſt in any manner the reaſonableneſs of puniſhing the Author; I diſclaim and diſavow it, as contrary to my intention and my principles: all ſuch puniſhment is againſt the intereſt of ſociety; the intereſt of truth; the intereſt of Religion itſelf: which, as it could not have been propagated at firſt, but by a liberty of thinking, writing, preaching; ſo cannot be preſerv'd in its purity, but by the very ſame means.

To return then to our Obſervator's ſen-

tence; that *my books ought to be burnt and my ſelf baniſh'd.* As for my books, there's no ſaving them from the flames: but *for my perſon, he is willing to commute the puniſhment, from exile abroad, to confinement at home.* [41] But leſt we ſhould ſuſpect him of any humanity or compaſſion in the propoſal, he ſoon gives us to underſtand, that 'tis but to haraſs and plague me the more by it: the commutations of theſe men are not to mitigate, but enhance the rigour of puniſhment. I am to be kept at home, that he and all others of the ſame ſtamp may rail, preach, and pray over me, till I become a *ſtanding ſpectacle* [41] of terror and example to all who dare to expoſe their Schemes. This puts me in mind of the poor *Jews* at *Rome*; who every week in Lent are oblig'd to attend a ſermon, and hear an angry Monk preach at them, and call them names by the hour, out of the ſame Chriſtian principle, that our Obſervator profeſſes, the ſame *honeſt intention of convincing them.* [12]

But I have already undergone, he ſays, *the worſt ſort of baniſhment a liberal mind can ſuffer; a total one, from the hearts and affections of all good men:* [42] *that the cordial friendſhip, the love and real eſteem, with which I uſed to be treated, is now dwindled into cold reſpect and a diſtant complaiſance.* He does me the honour then to allow, that I was once a favourite, cordially eſteem'd and belov'd by all, till an averſion to my

my opinions created an averſion to my perſon. As if a man were the leſs amiable for ſome particular ſentiments, or the leſs ſincere for declaring them: ſtrange character of friends! whom neither old acquaintance, nor eſteem, nor a long intercourſe of friendly offices could reſtrain from diſcarding me, when diſcovered to think differently from them. Would not the ſame men who baniſh me thus from their affections, as readily baniſh me from all ſociety? Nay, have they not attempted to do it, as far as it was in their power? and will ſuch a conduct do credit to any ſet of men, in a country where reaſon and liberty have any influence? Can *theſe good men*, who diſcard me, charge me with any falſhood or treachery in friendſhip? with the refuſal of any good office in my power; any act of humanity or courteſy to any of them? No, as they cannot charge me, I'm ſure, with any offence in practice, ſo I am the eaſier under the diſgrace I ſuffer for what is merely ſpeculative.

But whatever I have loſt with our *Obſervator's good men*, I have the comfort to find with others; *good enough* for me; who admit me to their company, and honour me with their friendſhip. Men of enlarged Minds and generous ſentiments; who make true religion the rule, and virtue the end of their living; who take immorality to be the greateſt hereſy; and meaſure the merit of their friends, not by

their faith, but by a nobler principle, their charity; who reckon it no breach of friendſhip to differ in opinion; and even value me perhaps the more, for what the others perſecute me. With men of this turn I ſhall breathe at leaſt freſh air; and have more pleaſure in the eaſe of one hour's converſation, than in years ſpent with the moroſe and the captious; under the ſlaviſh fear of offending, by ſtarting any thing out of the road and train of popular thinking.

I have now followed our Obſervator thro' all his chain of reaſoning; which I could not have ſubmitted to, but to relieve ſome ſhort intervals of leiſure in an abſence from books: and tho' I think him very injudicious in the choice and uſe of his materials, yet I muſt allow him to have ſhewn ſome art in the diſpoſition of them. For having obſerv'd in what vogue the Seſſions Paper has been in of late, and what demand for that kind of reading; he has contriv'd, we ſee, to throw his own papers into that form: the *Trial and Conviction of a notorious Infidel*; *the Sentence pronounc'd againſt him*; *his Confeſſion, and Recantation*; *with the Ordinary's Sermon and long Prayer at his Execution.* What juſtice has been done me in the trial, I muſt leave to the judgment of others; but for the *Confeſſion* here drawn up for me, I declare it to be falſe and ſpurious; ſuch as I never did, nor ever will ſubſcribe. Strange, that a man

a man can be ſo ſilly as to imagine, that were I diſpoſed to recant, I ſhould not do it in my own words, rather than his! but I have nothing to recant on the occaſion; nothing to confeſs, but the ſame *four Articles*, that I've already confeſs'd.

1. *That the Jews borrowed ſome of their cuſtoms from Ægypt.*
2. *That the Ægyptians were poſſeſs'd of arts and learning in Moſes's time.*
3. *That the primitive Writers, in vindicating Scripture, found it neceſſary ſometimes to recur to Allegory.*
4. *That the Scriptures are not of abſolute and univerſal Inſpiration* [*a*].

Theſe are the onely crimes that I have been guilty of againſt Religion: and by reducing the Controverſy to theſe four heads; and declaring my whole meaning to be compriz'd in them, I did in reality *recant* every thing elſe, that thro' heat or inadvertency had dropt from me; every thing that could be conſtrued to a ſenſe hurtful to Chriſtianity. But this is a Recantation that does not pleaſe *our Obſervator*; *theſe four heads*, he ſays, *may be debated innocently:* [29] and *no recantation* will ſatisfy him, but what carries crime and guilt along with it. What pity it is that *theſe inquiſitors of*

[*a*] See Remarks on a Reply, &c.

ours have not the power of the rack to extort what confeſſions they pleaſe? All that this good man aims at, is to make me odious and deteſtable to every body; with a true *Popiſh Spirit*, he would draw me in to recant, and then proceed to burn; or with the old revenge of an *Italian*; firſt make me blaſpheme, and then ſtab me.

But after ſo much bitterneſs of ſpirit, ſo much malice and rancour diſcharg'd againſt me, 'tis ſurprizing at laſt to ſee with what gravity he cloſes the whole, with *a long formal Prayer* for my converſion. He talks of *ſome wretches who ſay the Lord's Prayer backwards*. [19] What he means by it I cannot tell: but if to *pray backwards*, be to invert the intent and uſe of Prayer; to make it abominable to God, ridiculous to man; he muſt needs be the greateſt Maſter of it, who thinks *forty pages of railing* a proper preface to *four of praying* [*a*]. This it is, after all, that does the greateſt hurt, and gives the greateſt ſcandal in Religion, to ſee ſuch deadly venom and miſchief cover'd by a maſk of Piety. It was the characteriſtick, we know, of the *old Phariſees*, *to make long prayers and to devour Widow's houſes*: our modern ones come not a jot behind them: we here ſee the *length of this Phariſee's Prayer*; and as far as I can judge by what I have ſuffer'd my ſelf, his mouth is not more open to *pray* than 'tis to *devour*.

[*a*] See his prayer for me, p. 42, &c.

RE-

REMARKS,

PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH,

UPON THE

PROPOSALS

Lately published by

RICHARD BENTLEY,

FOR

A New EDITION

OF THE

GREEK Teſtament and LATIN Verſion.

Doctus criticus & adſuetus urere, ſecare, inclementer omnis generis libros tractare, apices, ſyllabas, voces, dictiones confodere, & ſtilo exigere, continebitne ille ab integro & intaminato Divinæ Sapientiæ monumento crudeles ungues?
Petri Burmanni Orat. *Lugd. Bat.* 1720.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 20, 1721.

FInding myſelf to be treated after a moſt barbarous manner in a virulent Libel, which bears the Title of Dr. Bentley's Propoſals, with a full Anſwer, *&c. upon Pretence of my being the Author of* The Remarks upon the Propoſals lately publiſhed by Richard Bentley, *&c. I think it neceſſary upon ſeveral Accounts to declare as follows,* viz.

That I am not the Author of thoſe Remarks, *nor any part of them, and that they were undertaken and written without my Aſſiſtance or Knowledge.*

That R. B. *certainly knew, or eaſily might have known, that they were written by the Reverend and Learned Dr.* MIDDLETON, *who had own'd them to ſeveral of his Friends, by whoſe means he verily believes, that* R. B. *was inform'd that he alone was the Author. For my own part, preſently after the* Remarks *were publiſh'd, I took all Occaſions to declare as above, being obliged in Juſtice ſo to do, leſt my Silence might in ſome meaſure contribute to deprive my worthy Friend of the Honour due for ſo excellent a Performance: nor do I queſtion but that* R. B. *before he began to write his Libel, had been acquainted with what I ſaid on thoſe Occaſions.*

That thoſe foul Aſperſions, which are caſt upon me in almoſt every Page, are as falſe in Fact, as they are apparently malicious; which is notorious to all who know me, and to none more than R. B. *himſelf.*

That I never wrote any Libels againſt the Government, the College, or the Maſter, as he falſly aſſerts.

I never wrote any thing at all relating to the Government, or publiſh'd any thing concerning the College, or the Maſter, except a Commemoration Sermon in Dec. 1717, *which the Maſter pretended to approve of, giving it under his Hand that he would ſubſcribe to every word of it. As to other matters relating to either, I have hitherto thought them fit onely for the Cognizance of a Viſitor.*

JOHN COLBATCH, D. D. Senior Fellow of *Trinity* College, and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge.*

REMARKS,

PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH

UPON THE

PROPOSALS

Lately Publiſhed

By *Richard Bentley*, &c.

I Shall not trouble myſelf with making any Apology for the following *Remarks*; but ſhall onely deſire the Reader to believe, that (whatever Prejudices may lie againſt them) they were not drawn from me by *Perſonal Spleen*, or *Envy* to the Author of the Propoſals, but by a *Serious Conviction* that he has neither Talents nor Materials proper for the Work he has undertaken, and that *Religion* is much more likely to receive Detriment than Service from it: The *Time*, *Manner*, and other Circumſtances of *publiſhing theſe Propoſals*, make it but too evident, that they were haſtned out to ſerve quite *different Ends*, than thoſe of *Common Chriſtianity*; and I think it my Duty to obviate, as far as I am able, the Influence they might have on ſome whom *big Words* and *bold Attempts*

Attempts are apt to lead implicitely into an high Opinion and Admiration of the Merit and Abilities of the Undertaker.

The Title runs thus:

Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ *GRÆCÆ. Novum Teſtamentum Verſionis Vulgatæ, per Sanctum* Hieronymum *ad vetuſta Exemplaria Græca caſtigatæ & exactæ. Utrumque ex antiquiſſimis Codd.* MSS. *cum Græcis tum Latinis, edidit* Richardus Bentleius.

REMARKS.

Some people are puzzled to find out the meaning of the word *GRÆCÆ*, unleſs it be placed there *exegetically*, to let us know what Language ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ is of; but our Editor ought then to have gone on, and after *Novum Teſtamentum* have added likewiſe *in Latin*, which is juſt as Critical and Elegant as the other. The very next Words ſeem to be little better than a Barbariſm, *Novum Teſtamentum Verſionis Vulgatæ*; if he had quite inverted the Order and Conſtruction of them, all had been clear and intelligible, *viz. Verſio Vulgata Novi Teſtamenti*; but the other is hardly juſtifiable by any Rules of Grammar. And tho' it may have been the Stile of ſome other Editions, or might be allowed in a *Commentator*, yet is not ſuch *Latin* as we expect from a *Critick*.

It

It is obſerved likewiſe, that he does not deal quite ſo honourably as he ſhould with his *Partner Mr. John Walker*; for tho' in the cloſe of the Propoſals he allows him *half the Profit*, and almoſt *all the Trouble* of this Work, yet he here reſerves the *whole Reputation* of it to himſelf with an *Edidit Richardus Bentleius.*

Paragraph the Firſt.

The Author of this Edition, obſerving that the Printed Copies of the New Teſtament, both of the Original Greek and Antient vulgar Latin, were taken from Manuſcripts of no great Antiquity, ſuch as the firſt Editors could then procure; and that now by God's Providence there are MSS. in Europe, *(acceſſible, though with great Charge) above a Thouſand Years old in both Languages; believes he may do good Service to common Chriſtianity, if he publiſhes a New Edition of the* Greek *and* Latin, *not according to the recent and interpolated Copies, but as repreſented in the moſt antient and venerable MSS, in Greek and Roman Capital Letters.*

REMARKS.

Our Author, we ſee, with all his Zeal for *Common Chriſtianity*, makes no Scruple to deſtroy here at once the Authority of all our *publiſhed Scriptures*, and by a kind of *Pa-*

pal

pal Edict cries down all our *current Editions* as corrupt and adulterate, 'till coined and ſtamped anew by his Authority.

But the Injuſtice and Barbarity of this Cenſure on all *former Editors of the New Teſtament*, will eaſily appear by the ſhort Account I ſhall give of two or three of the *principal Editions*; and 'tis ſuch an *Inſult* upon the Senſe and Judgment of the Learned World, which has always ſet the higheſt Value upon many of them, that it cannot but raiſe an univerſal Reſentment and Indignation.

The Editors of the *Celebrated Complutenſian Edition*, printed 1515, were furniſhed by *Pope Leo* the Tenth with *all the Manuſcripts of the* Vatican; beſides many others of the *greateſt Antiquity*, procured from diſtant parts of *Europe* by the Power and Intereſt of *Cardinal Ximenes*, the Patron and Promoter of the Work: Many of theſe we find deſcribed under the Characters of *Venerandæ vetuſtatis, Spectatæque fidei*, and ſome are ſaid to be above *twelve hundred Years old:* The Cardinal, in his Prefatory Epiſtle to the Pope, ſays thus; *Et Caſtigatiſſima omni ex parte vetuſtiſſimaque Exemplaria pro Archetypis haberemus, quorum quidem tàm Hebræorum quàm Græcorum & Latinorum multiplicem Copiam non ſine ſummo labore conquiſivimus.*

And

And the Editors in their Prologue ſay likewiſe; *Non quævis Exemplaria Editioni huic Archetypa fuiſſe, ſed Antiquiſſima Emendatiſſimaque & tantæ præterea vetuſtatis, ut fidem eis abrogare Nefas videatur.*

Gomeſius, *De rebus geſtis* Ximenii, lib. 2. tells us, what *great Pains and Expence the Cardinal was at in procuring Manuſcripts from* Rome, *and other foreign Parts, as well as all the Libraries of* Spain; and ſays, that *ſeven onely of his Copies fetched from different Countries, coſt him four thouſand Aurei.*

Dr. *Mills* ſays, that theſe Editors had collected *Lautam plane Codicum Manuſcriptorum ſupellectilem*; and ſtiles the Edition *Primam & Nobiliſſimam*, and, *Opus nunquam ſatis Celebrandum.* And *our very Editor*, if we may judge of his Opinion of this Edition by his Uſe of it, has fairly convicted himſelf, and may be brought as an Evidence for its Authority, having cited it near as often *in his Specimen* as any *Father* or *Manuſcript* of them all.

Eraſmus formed his *Edition* by *Collating* and *Comparing* a great many of the moſt *correct and ancient Manuſcripts*, both *Greek* and *Latin*; his Words are, *Univerſum ad Græcæ Originis fidem recognovimus, idque non temerè neque levi Operâ, ſed adhibitis in conſilium compluribus utriuſ-*

utriuſque Linguæ codicibus, nec iis ſanè quibuſlibet ſed Vetuſtiſſimis ſimùl & Emendatiſſimis. Præf. ad Leon. X. And in another Place, *Ad Græcæ Originis fidem examinatis codicibus Latinis neque tamen fidentes paucis aut quibuſlibet.* Dr. *Mills* compares *one of* Eraſmus's *Greek Manuſcripts* to the *Alexandrian itſelf*, which is ſuppoſed to be above *twelve hundred Years old.*

Rob. Stevens collected the Text of his Edition from *no fewer* than *Sixteen* of the beſt and moſt *antient Manuſcripts*, ſome of which are deſcribed by him to be *Ipſâ vetuſtatis Specie pœnè adorandos*; and our Editor himſelf, in his Remarks upon the Freethinkers, owns *this Edition, generally ſpeaking, to be an accurate one*, which from him is a very extraordinary Character.

I need not mention the many other Editions we have of good Note; but ſhall leave it to the Reader to determine from theſe I have named, how juſt and modeſt our Author has been in this Paragraph; and whether *Manuſcripts of no great Antiquity, recent and interpolated*, be the proper Tranſlation of *Antiquiſſima Emendatiſſimaque Venerandæ Vetuſtatis Spectatæque fidei.*

But however barbarous this Treatment of our *firſt Editors* may ſeem, it is ſtill much more unpardonable in reſpect to one of our laſt; I mean the *Learned Dr. Mills*, who with incre-

incredible Pains and Induſtry for thirty Years together, has drawn together, in his elaborate *Edition of the New Teſtament*, not onely whatever had been collected by *all other Authors and Editors* before him, but the Collations likewiſe of all the Manuſcripts whatſoever which he had heard of or were at all famous in any part of *Europe*. There are many in his Collections above a *thouſand Years old, and in Capital Letters too*; ſome of which our Author himſelf will allow to be the moſt *antient and valuable* in the World; and it is from this Magazine that our Propoſer (as ungrateful as unjuſt) has upon the Matter borrowed all his Materials; and as far as we may judge from theſe Propoſals, ſeems rather to copy and tranſcribe onely *this Edition*, than to deſign a new one.

I may juſtly therefore turn upon him his own Words, which were applied by himſelf in Defence of Dr. *Mills* againſt the Cavils of the Free-thinkers. *Our learned Countryman Dr.* Mills, *whoſe Friendſhip and Memory will ever be dear to me, meets with a ſorry Recompenſe for his long Labour of thirty Years.*

But he tells us, that *now, by God's Providence, there are Manuſcripts in* Europe *acceſſible*, &c. as if they had never been in *Europe* till *now*; but were *juſt* now dug out of the Ground like Medals, or imported lately from the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies* for the Service of his Edition: But

But if they are ſo *acceſſible* as he ſays, it is very certain that *Library-keepers* abroad have more *Humanity*, and leſs *Envy*, than ſome I could name at home.

Paragraph the Second.

The Author, revolving in his Mind ſome Paſſages of St. Hierom; *where he declares, that (without making a New Verſion) he adjuſted and reform'd the whole* Latin Vulgate to the beſt Greek Exemplars, *that is, to thoſe of the famous* Origen; *and another Paſſage, where he ſays, that a Verbal or Literal Interpretation out of* Greek *into* Latin *is not neceſſary*, Except in the Holy Scriptures, *Ubi ipſe verborum ordo myſterium eſt*, Where the very Order of the Words is a Myſtery; *took thence the Hint, that if the Oldeſt Copies of the Original* Greek *and* Hierom's Latin *were examined and compared together, perhaps they would be ſtill found to agree both in Words and Order of Words. And upon making the Eſſay; he has ſucceeded in his Conjecture, beyond his Expectation or even his Hopes.*

REMARKS.

Here we are entertained with a ſhort Hiſtory of our Editor's great Deſign, and what an odd Accident, what a fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms gave Birth to this mighty Work; *thinking*, it ſeems, upon *ſome Paſſages of St. Hierom*,

rom, he firſt took a *Hint*, which being improved preſently into a *Conjecture*, turned it ſelf ſoon afterwards into a *Clue*, which *extricated* him out of the *Labyrinth*, and ſo the Buſineſs was done: This being therefore the applauded momentous Paragraph, on which the Reaſon and Neceſſity of this new Edition, and the whole Merit of theſe Propoſals are entirely built, it will deſerve a very particular Examination.

As for the firſt of theſe Paſſages referred to here by our Author, I much queſtion whether it is to be found in direct and expreſs Terms in any part of St. *Hierom*'s Works: It is however pretty certain that St. *Hierom* did at firſt deſign to new model and reform the *Latin Vulgate of the New Teſtament, according to the beſt Greek Copies of his time*; but finding what an Offence he was like to give by ſo great an Alteration of a Verſion which the People were fond of, and had ſo long been uſed to, he changed his Mind, and was content onely to touch over and correct ſuch Paſſages where the Senſe ſeemed to have been miſtaken, leaving the reſt as he found it: This is the Account he himſelf gives us in his *Prefatory Epiſtle to Pope Damaſus* prefixed to the Goſpels: *Quæ nè multùm à Lectionis Latinæ conſuetudine diſcreparent, ita Calamo temperavimus ut his tantum, quæ ſenſum videbantur mutare, correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.* Dr. *Mills* ſpeak-

ing of St. *Jerom*, in relation to this very Subject, ſays, *Gaudemus quod in hâc re parùm ſibi permiſerit ac pauca duntaxat immutarit. Vid. Prolegom.* In ſo ſmall an Alteration therefore as St. *Jerom* made, it is probable, that the *Order of Words* ſtood much the ſame both before and after his Reformation; and ſo leaving our Author to make what Uſe he can of this part of his Diſcovery, and *to revolve it in his Mind* as long as he pleaſes, I ſhall proceed to conſider,

The ſecond Paſſage above cited, which is taken from the *Epiſtle to Pammachius, De optimo genere Interpretandi*; where St. *Hierom*'s Words are, *Sed liberâ voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Græcorum, abſque Scripturis ſanctis, ubi & Verborum Ordo & Myſterium eſt, non verbum ex verbo, ſed ſenſum exprimere de ſenſu.* Here we ſee that *Ordo Verborum* and *Myſterium* are plainly *disjoined* and *diſtinguiſhed* from each other, and that our Editor has thought it convenient to throw out the *Disjunctives*, and clap in an *Ipſe* to make the Words expreſs more roundly the Senſe he would put upon them.

I will not diſpute with him about the different Significations, which this Paſſage and his Citation of it might bear, but will allow him for once that both expreſs the ſame thing; yet it is very eaſie to ſhew, that he has widely miſtaken the true Senſe and Meaning of them.

The

The whole Subject of this *Epiſtle to Pammachius* is the Defence of a Tranſlation he had made, (not verbally, but according to the Senſe) of a Greek Letter ſent from one Biſhop to another; where, beſides alledging the Practice of profane Authors, he ſhews that the *beſt Interpreters even of Scripture* had no regard in their Tranſlations to the *Words* or *Order of Words*, but to the Senſe onely; which he proves by ſeveral Inſtances from the *Septuagint*, the *Evangeliſts*, the *Apoſtles*, the *Vulgate Edition* it ſelf and the *Fathers*; and concludes, *Ut Reprehenſores meos arguam imperitiæ, & impetrem ab eis veniam, ut concedant mihi in ſimplici Epiſtolâ quod in Scripturis ſanctis, velint nolint, Apoſtolis conceſſuri ſunt*; and again, *Ex quibus univerſis perſpicuum eſt, Apoſtolos & Evangeliſtas in Interpretatione veterum Scripturarum ſenſum quæſiſſe, non verba, nec magnoperè de ordine ſermonibuſque curâſſe dum intellectui res pateret.* It is certain therefore, that this famous Paſſage can onely be rendred thus, *viz.* That St. *Hierom* in tranſlating Greek, did not endeavour to render Word by Word, but to expreſs the Senſe onely, except in *ſuch particular Places of the holy Scriptures, where & Verborum Ordo & Myſterium eſt* for the Word *Ubi* muſt either have this *reſtrained* and *particular* Senſe, or this Paſſage ſtands a direct Contradiction to the whole Reaſoning and Tenor of the Epiſtle.

And ſuch *particular places* of Scripture as are here meant, muſt certainly be looked for onely in the *Old Teſtament*, which St. *Hierom* likewiſe *tranſlated into Latin from the Greek* of the Septuagint, and where the *Jewiſh Doctors and Rabbins*, and all the Writers infected with their Notions, are full of *ſuperſtitious Whims* about *Myſteries* in the *Order and Diſpoſition not onely of Words*, but of *Syllables* and *Letters*. And St. *Hierom* himſelf, after he began to grow fond of Hebrew, might probably be a little touched with theſe kind of Fancies: but no one Writer that I have yet heard of has ever affirmed, that *the Order of Words* in the New Teſtament is *myſterious*.

I could ſhew from twenty Places of St. *Hierom*, that he never in the leaſt dreamt of confining himſelf to the *Order of Words* in any of his Verſions.

In a Letter to St. *Auſtin*, ſpeaking of his Tranſlations of the Old Teſtament, he ſays, *Et ibi Græca tranſtulimus; hìc de ipſo Hebraico, quod intelligebamus, expreſſimus, ſenſuum potius veritatem, quàm verborum ordinem interdum conſervantes.* And again, *Quod autem genus interpretationis in Scripturis ſanctis ſequendum ſit, liber quem ſcripſi de optimo genere interpretandi, & omnes præfatiunculæ divinorum voluminum, quas Editioni noſtræ præpoſuimus, explicant.* And theſe Places he

he here refers us to, are full of nothing but *Rules*, and *Reaſons*, and *Inſtances* of interpreting Scripture, not according *to the Words* but *the ſenſe onely*.

But I need not trouble myſelf any farther in a Caſe ſo clear and undeniable; the Notion advanced here by our Editor, is in it ſelf abſurd and impoſſible; *Eraſmus* ſpeaking on this Subject ſays, *Si minùs verbum verbo reſpondeat, id quod ut maximè coneris, ne fieri quidem poteſt. Apolog.* which we find confirmed by Fact and Experiment; for he ſays again in relation to this *very Verſion*, *Si nefas eſſe ducunt uſquàm à literis ac ſyllabis diſcedere, cur hic Interpres paſſim id auſus eſt, aliquoties nulla adactus neceſſitate? &c.* And *Arias Mont.* in his Preface ſays, *Ita ut ſæpius ejus interpretatio non ad verbum, ſed ad ſententiam accipiendo ſit.* And *Beza* likewiſe; *Hoc quidèm conſtat ſæpe illam à Græcis diſcedere.* But we need go no farther for Proofs of all this than our *Author's own Specimen*, where in the *Latin Text*, as it ſtands dreſs'd up by himſelf, we ſee many conſiderable Variations in the Order of Words from the Greek, *viz.* ℣. 2, 5, 8, 9, 12, 14, &c.

Allowing then that St. *Hierom* did believe *the Order of Words to be myſterious* in a few *particular places* of holy Scripture, which neither our Editor nor any Man elſe knows where to find: What can all this ſignify towards proving

the Neceſſity of a new Edition, or of what great Uſe and Service can it poſſibly be to any Editor in ſuch a Deſign? Yet this is the ſole Foundation upon which every thing that is *new* or can be *uſeful* in our Author's Performance is entirely built; for excepting this ſilly Fancy about the *Order of Words*, he cannot do any thing more with his *old Verſion* and *old Latin Manuſcripts*, than what has been fully and effectually done before him by many other Editors.

Eraſmus ſpeaking of his own Edition ſays, *Teſtamentum Novum omni quâ licuit diligentiâ quâque decuit fide recognovimus, idque primùm ad Græcam veritatem, deinde ad fidem vetuſtiſſimorum Latinæ Linguæ Codicum.* Præf. annot. N. T. And Dr. *Mills* ſays, *Eraſmus inſtitutâ ſemel atque iterum Exemplarium Græcorum inter ſe & cum Manuſcriptis Codicibus Verſionis Vulgatæ Collatione, ad Editionem novi Fœderis ſe accinxit.* Vid. Prolegom.

Rob. Stephens, in the Preface of his Edition, *Anno* 1551, ſays, *Porrò Veterem Verſionem negligendam non exiſtimavi idque tribus potiſſimùm de Cauſis, primùm, quia eam multis in locis Vetuſtiſſimi Exemplaris Græci loco eſſe videbam.*

Mr. *Toinard* has alſo in a manner executed our Editor's very Scheme in his *Harmony of the Goſpels*, printed at *Paris* 1709. and owns that

he borrowed the Hint from the Paſſage juſt cited of *Robert Stephens*; his Words are, *Ex qua Roberti Stephani de Veteri Interprete ſententiâ Vulgatum Textum Græcum caſtigandum putavi ex Vaticanarum illarum Lectionum & Veteris Verſionis mutuo Conſenſu.*

Dr. *Mills*, in his Prolegomena, ſays, *Veterem Novi Teſtamenti Italicam, ceu ad Exemplaria primæva compoſitum Summâ veneratione proſequimur*; and there is not one Citation of it in any of the Latin Fathers, nor any Emendation that St. *Hierom* afterwards made in it, which the Doctor has not actually exhibited and applied with great Judgment to the clearing up the genuine Greek Text; and from theſe Citations, with the help of old Manuſcripts, *&c.* he believes that he has *retrieved, in moſt parts of the New Teſtament, the true Readings of the old Vulgate, with the very Greek from whence they were taken*, which was probably that of the Age next to the Apoſtles.

All therefore that we can expect new from our Editor is, that having formed his Deſign upon a Notion which is not true, like all other *Authors of Syſtems*, he will be apt to wreſt and force both the *Greek and Latin* Texts, to make them anſwer, as well as he can, to his *Hypotheſis*.

In his *Sermon upon Popery*, preached at *Cam-*

bridge, and ſince printed, he ſpeaks with ſome Contempt of the *Vulgar Latin*, as a Tranſlation made by a *private and unknown* Perſon, which muſt have *ſeveral Defects and Ambiguities from the Nature of Language, tho' the Author of it were inſpired*; that there are fewer *antient Manuſcripts* preſerved of it, than of the *Greek*, and that it has been more injured under the Hands of Tranſcribers, and expoſes the Church of *Rome* for *enhancing* (as he ſays) *the Authority of it above that of the Inſpired Greek*; where, by the by, he ſeems to know but little of the true State of the Queſtion, but with the common Herd of Writers, charges upon the Papiſts a good deal more than is true of them in this Caſe: The Canon of the Council of *Trent*, in relation *to this Verſion*, runs thus: *Statuit & declarat ut hæc vetus & vulgata Editio, quæ longo tot ſæculorum uſu in ipſâ Eccleſiâ probata eſt, in publicis lectionibus, diſputationibus, prædicationibus, & expoſitionibus pro Authentica habeatur:* Here we ſee no mention at all of the *Inſpired Greek*, no comparing *or enhancing the Tranſlation above the Original, the Stream above the Fountain. Vid.* Bent. *Serm. on Popery. Bellarmine*'s account of this Matter is; *Nec enim Patres Fontium ullam mentionem fecerunt, ſed ſolum ex tot Latinis Verſionibus, quæ nunc circumferuntur, unam delegerunt quam cæteris anteponerent*, lib. 2. c. 10. De Verbo Dei. *Cæteris, quæ hodierno die extant, omnibus anteponendam duximus.* Arias Mont.

The

The Popiſh Writers indeed ſay in Defence of this Verſion, that being made in the earlieſt Ages of Chriſtianity, from the pure Exemplars of thoſe Times, and having continued ever ſince in the conſtant Uſe and Service of the *Latin* Church, it muſt needs be of equal Authority to any *Greek* Copies now extant: And is not our Author here ſaying and doing much the ſame thing which we juſtly condemn in the *Church of Rome*; undervaluing the Credit of all the *Greek Copies*; advancing and authorizing the *Vulgar Latin*, and proving it to be the beſt means we can uſe of finding out the *true Exemplars* of the Antients?

Paragraph the Third.

The Author believes, that he has retriev'd (except in very few Places) the true Exemplar of Origen, *which was the Standard to the moſt Learned of the* Fathers *at the time of the Council of* Nice *and two Centuries after. And he is ſure, That the* Greek *and* Latin *MSS, by their mutual Aſſiſtance, do ſo ſettle the Original Text to the ſmalleſt Nicety; as cannot be perform'd now in any* Claſſic *Author whatever: and that out of a Labyrinth of Thirty Thouſand Various Readings, that croud the Pages of our preſent beſt Editions, all put upon equal Credit to the offence of many good Perſons; this Clue ſo leads and extricates us, that there will ſcarce be two Hundred out of ſo many Thouſands that can deſerve the leaſt Conſideration.* RE-

REMARKS.

I have not been able to find, in any Author I have yet consulted on this Occasion, that *Origen*'s *Exemplars of the New Testament* were so very famous for their particular Accuracy, as to be a *Standard to the most Learned Fathers*, or indeed to any Body besides himself: Most Churches in that early Age were probably furnished with Copies as correct as his: *He was accused of many Errors*; *excommunicated for them by the Churches of* Alexandria *and* Rome; *was suspected of doing Injury to some texts*; *doubted of the Canonicalness of some Books of the New Testament*; *Received and made use of others which were Apocryphal.* And tho' St. *Hierom* in his Youth was a great Admirer of him, and owns that he copied after him in his *Commentaries*, yet he had afterwards no great Opinion of his *Fidelity* or *Exactness* in *handling the Scriptures*, but says in a Letter to St. *Austin*, that the Text was rather *Corrupted* than *Mended* by him.

Huetius speaking of *Origen*'s interpreting the Scriptures, says; *Non eâdem Editione in iis interpretandis usus est, in Homiliis Editionem sequebatur Communem*, in Tomis alias *Editiones consulebat*; and he accounts for the great Difference there is between *Origen*'s Readings of the Text, and those of the common Editions, by the great Use he made of the *Apocryphal Gospel to the*

the Hebrews; *Utebatur ſæpenumero Adamantius Evangelio ſecundùm Hebræos (ut tradit* Hieronymus, *lib. de Script. Eccleſ.* c. 4.*) atque inde diſcrepantiam illam extitiſſe conjicio.* Huetii Origeniana, lib. 3. c. 1.

Dr. *Mills* ſays in his Prolegom. *That* Origen, *in Reading and Citing the New Teſtament did not ſtick to any certain Copy, but made uſe of different ones, and all of them in ſome places Corrupt.*

Indeed, *Origen*'s celebrated Work, called *Hexapla*, and afterwards *Octapla*, (which was an Edition of the *Hebrew* Text of the Old Teſtament, with the ſeveral *Greek* Verſions of it in different Columns) was a *Standard to the Fathers* for the Text of the *Old Scriptures*, who (excepting one or two of them) underſtood very little of *Hebrew*; but that his Authority was not near ſo great in the *New*, as in the *Old Teſtament*, we learn from *Ambroſe*, lib. 5. Epiſt. 43. *Etſi ſciam quòd nihil difficilius ſit, quàm de Apoſtoli lectione diſſerere, cùm ipſe Origines longè minor ſit in Novo quàm in Veteri Teſtamento.* That his Exemplar therefore was received as a *Standard of the Genuine Text of the New Teſtament*, ſeems to be a groundleſs Fancy or Miſtake of our Editor.

But let this be as it will, he believes, it ſeems, that he has retrieved the *true Exemplar of Origen*; and we are conſequently to imagine, that in the

Chapter

Chapter of his Specimen, the Text ſtands exactly the ſame, as it was read by that *great Man:* Yet upon examining his Notes I find, that in the whole he gives us but *three* various Readings from *Origen*, and inſtead of *retrieving*, *rejects* them all as *falſe*, ℣. 11, 13.

But one main Deſign of this Edition, is, we ſee, to reduce the *exorbitant Number of various Readings, which crowd the Pages of our beſt Editions, to the Offence of many good Perſons*; which is ſuch a *piece of Grimace*, as will hardly paſs upon the World; by over acting his part he betrays his Inſincerity and Deſign of impoſing upon the Senſes of Mankind.

In his Remarks on Free-thinkers, for many Pages together, he rallies and expoſes, as weak and ridiculous, *the Offence which Dr.* Whitby, *and others, had taken at the great Number of various Readings which crowd the Pages of Dr.* Mills's *Greek Teſtament*; he wiſhes that their *Number were ſtill greater*, and proves, that the *more* they are, the *better they clear and aſcertain the genuine Text. If I may adviſe you*, ſays he, *when you hear more of this Scarecrow of Thirty Thouſand, be neither aſtoniſhed at the Sum, nor in any pain for the Text.* Pag. 68.

But now to ſerve his preſent Turn, in contradiction to himſelf, and to common Senſe, they muſt once more be made an Objection to *poor Dr.*

Dr. Mills; and all of them, except a few favourite ones, are now to be diſcarded, ſerving onely to *offend* and *perplex* the pious Reader.

But he will ſay, perhaps, that it is not *their Number* which gives ſo much Offence; but that they are all put, as he tells us, *upon equal Credit by our Editors*; the contrary of which is ſo directly and evidently true, that one would wonder what he could mean by ſuch an Aſſertion. For do not our Editors, eſpecially Dr. *Mills*, give a particular and diſtinct Account of the different *Antiquity*, *Authority*, and *Correctneſs* of the ſeveral *Manuſcripts* they make uſe of: And do not they cite each Manuſcript by its diſtinct and proper Title? How then can the *various Readings* be all put upon the *ſame Degree of Credit*, whilſt the Copies, from whence they are taken, are all put upon ſo different ones?

Indeed, if other Authors had contented themſelves with the ſlovenly and ſuſpicious Way of quoting Manuſcripts, which we find in this Specimen, *viz. Codd. plerique omnes Gallici quatuor*, *Anglici tres*, *Germ. unus*, &c. there might have been a good deal of Reaſon for a Charge of this Nature, which, by what is already hinted, appears in the preſent Caſe to be entirely groundleſs.

But

But after all, we find the *Various Readings* of the *Greek* onely near as numerous and bulky in this Specimen of his own, as in any of the *former Editions* he complains of; and if we may argue from the Proportion of them in this Chapter to the reſt of his Work, his own Pages are ſtill like *to be crowded with the old round Number of Thirty Thouſand.*

Paragraph the Fourth.

To confirm the Lections which the Author places in the Text, he makes uſe of the old Verſions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic *and* Æthiopic, *and of all the Fathers,* Greeks *and* Latins, *within the firſt Five Centuries; and he gives in his Notes all the Various Readings (now known) within the ſaid Five Centuries. So that the Reader has under one View what the firſt Ages of the Church knew of the Text; and what has crept into any Copies ſince, is of no Value or Authority.*

REMARKS.

In this Paragraph, however *Pompous* and *Learned* it ſeems, our Author will be found, even by his own Confeſſion, to fall very ſhort of what has actually been executed by *other Editors* before him; for Proof of which, I need onely produce *his own Words from his Remarks upon the Free-thinkers, Part* I. *p.* 64. where ſpeaking

ſpeaking of what had been done in *former Editions*, long before he dreamt of publiſhing one of his own, he ſays, *Nor has the Texte onely been ranſacked, but all the ancient Verſions; the Latin Vulgate, Italic, Syriac, Æthiopic, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Gothic, and Saxon, nor theſe onely, but all the diſperſed Citations of the Greek and Latin* Fathers, *in a Courſe of five hundred Years:* All which is even leſs than what we find performed in the *ſingle Edition of Dr. Mills*, which is particularly referred to in this Paſſage: For beſides an Account and Examination of *every one of thoſe Verſions*, we have in the Doctor's Prolegomena, not onely *the diſperſed Citations of the Fathers of the five firſt Centuries*, but of all other *Eccleſiaſtical Writers* of any Note, and what Age ſoever: However, I cannot help agreeing with our Editor, that as it is certain he does not underſtand a tittle of *any one of the Verſions* here mentioned, he may do his buſineſs full as well with any *four*, as with them all.

How well he has kept up to this Propoſal of giving us *all the Readings now known within the five firſt Centuries, and ſlighting all the reſt*, may be ſeen in his Specimen, where he has omitted ſome Authorities that Dr. *Mills* had given, which come within his Period, *v.* 2, 5, 7. and has made more uſe of others which fall below it, than almoſt all his Fathers put together; and condeſcends even to take notice of printed Editions.

Paragraph

Paragraph the Fifth.

The Author is very ſenſible, that in the Sacred Writings there's no place for Conjectures or Emendations. Diligence and Fidelity, with ſome Judgment and Experience, are the Characters here requiſite. He declares therefore, that he does not alter one Letter in the Text without the Authorities ſubjoin'd in the Notes. And to leave the free Choice to every Reader, he places under each Column the ſmalleſt Variations of this Edition, either in Words or Order, from the receiv'd Greek *of* Stephanus, *and the* Latin *of the two Popes* Sixtus V. *and* Clemens VIII. *So that this Edition exhibits both it Self, and the Common ones.*

REMARKS.

The Reader by this time will be pretty well able to judge how far the Character here given of a *Scripture-Editor* may be allowed to *our Propoſer*; for *his Citations from St. Hierom* may ſerve as an Inſtance of his *Fidelity*; and the Conduct and Matter of theſe Propoſals be a Proof of his *Judgment*; and his great *Experience* in *Theological Studies* may eaſily be computed from his whole Life ſpent in *critical Niceties*, and Obſervations on *Claſſical Authors*.

But he is very ſenſible, we ſee, what a Notion the World has entertained of his *critical Faculty*,

Faculty, and to quiet the Apprehenſions People are under, leſt he ſhould treat the *Sacred Writers* with as little Ceremony as he has done *the Profane*, mangle and alter them at pleaſure, agreeably to his own *Taſte* and *Judgment*, without regard to the *Authority of Manuſcripts:* He here declares, that he *will not alter one Letter in the Greek of Stephanus, and Latin of the two Popes, without Authorities ſubjoined.*

But the *Dutch Orator* and *old Friend of his Peter Burman*, whom I have quoted in the Title Page, has told us already what we are to expect; and it happens very unluckily for him, that he has not the Command of himſelf to keep his Reſolution through one *ſingle Chapter*; for beſides ſome *literal Alterations* in the Greek, without *any Authority ſubjoined*, he has made an *Emendation* in the third Verſe of the *Latin*; which he owns to be *contrary to all the Manuſcripts he ever ſaw.*

Paragraph the Sixth.

If the Author has any thing to ſuggeſt towards a Change of the Text, not ſupported by any Copies now extant; he will offer it ſeparate in his Prolegomena; *in which will be a large Account of the ſeveral MSS. here uſed, and of the other Matters which contribute to make this Edition uſeful. In this Work he is of no Sect or Party; his Deſign is to ſerve the whole Chriſtian Name. He draws*

no Conſequences in his Notes; makes no oblique Glances upon any diſputed Points, old or new. He conſecrates this Work, as a κειμήλιον, *a* πτῆμα ἐσαεὶ, *a* Charter, *a* Magna Charta, *to the whole Chriſtian Church, to laſt when all the Antient MSS. here quoted may be loſt and extinguiſh'd.*

REMARKS.

Our Author in this Paragraph, raviſhed with the great Succeſs of his Labours, and the Proſpect of his immortal Fame, cannot forbear *antedating* his future Glory, and ſigning his *Exegi monumentum* at the wrong end of his Work; but his Vanity ſeems full as ill natur'd as extravagant: for a *ſimple Immortality* will not, we ſee, content him, he muſt have no Rival: It is not enough that his Works live for ever, unleſs all others die, and his Edition muſt needs laſt, when all the *antient Manuſcripts* are not onely *loſt*, but (in a Phraſe as barbarous as the Thought) *extinguiſhed* too.

He has been ranſacking, we find, all the Languages he is Maſter of, for *proper Encomiums* to beſtow upon this Work of his; and one would think, that in *torturing the Scriptures*, he thought it neceſſary *like Pilate*, to ſet up *an Inſcription* in *three different Tongues.* Κειμήλιον, *Charter, Magna Charta.*

Κειμήλιον ſignifies ſome *Rarity* or *choice* piece of Furniture, *not uſed*, but always *laid up* and *kept*

kept cloſe with great care by the Owner. *Virgil* expreſſes the force of it by *condita ſervo*, and Dr. *Mills* very properly calls the *Alexandrian Manuſcript* a Κειμήλιον; but to apply it to any *printed Edition* deſign'd for *common uſe*, and to be in *every Bodies Hands*, is *a manifeſt impropriety* and *Contradiction in Terms*; but ſince the *Alexandrian Manuſcript* is, we find, to be *extinguiſhed*, and this Edition to take its place, it may very well by a *Prolepſis* take its Title too, and ſo the Objection is ſolved.

But he will find it more difficult, I doubt, to account for the Authority he here aſſumes, of granting *Charters and Magna Charta's to the Chriſtian Church*: The Scriptures, I know, have ſometimes been called the *Church's Charter*, and Dr. *Trot*, in the Preface to his *Clavis Linguæ ſanctæ*, calls them *magnam Chartam non Regis terreſtris ſed cæleſtis ſubditis ſuis conceſſam*; which is at beſt but a coarſe kind of Metaphor, and a Diminution to the ſacred Writings: But to faſten this and the other Titles here given upon any *particular unauthorized Edition*, is an Inſolence more than *Popiſh*, and altogether new and unheard of among *Proteſtants*, and is ſo far from becoming any *private Regulator* of the Text, that it is more than any *National Church* could juſtifie to its Members: But after all his meaning may perhaps be very harmleſs, and his *Charter* and *Magna Charta* may ſignify nothing more than *his ſmall* and his *great Paper* deſcribed in the next Paragraph. Para-

Paragraphs the Seventh and Eighth.

To publiſh this Work, according to its Uſe and Importance, a great Expence is requiſite: It's deſign'd to be Printed, not on the Paper or with the Letter of this Specimen, *but with the beſt Letter, Paper, and Ink that* Europe *affords. It muſt therefore be done by Subſcription or Contribution. As it will make two Tomes in Folio, the Loweſt Subſcription for Smaller Paper muſt be Three Guineas, one advanc'd in preſent; and for the Great Paper Five Guineas, two advanc'd.*

The Work will be put to the Preſs, as ſoon as Money is contributed to ſupport the Charge of the Impreſſion; and no more Copies will be Printed than are ſubſcribed for. The Overſeer and Corrector of the Preſs will be the Learned Mr. JOHN WALKER *of* Trinity-*College in* Cambridge; *who with great Accurateneſs has collated many MSS at* Paris *for the preſent edition. And the Iſſue of it, whether Gain or Loſs, is equally to fall on Him and the Author.*

REMARKS.

In a Deſign like this, pretended to be undertaken for the *Service of the Chriſtian World*, any other Man would have contrived as well as he could to have kept out of ſight all *ſelfiſh Views and Motives*, all Regards to *Gain and filthy Lucre:*

tre: But we find in theſe two Paragraphs ſuch *ſordid Inſinuations*, ſuch low and paultry *higgling* to *ſqueeze our Money* from us, *viz. great Expenſe requiſite; ſhall be put to the Preſs as ſoon as Money is contributed; no more printed than ſubſcribed for; the beſt Letter, Paper and Ink in Europe; the loweſt Price muſt be, &c.* that it puts me in mind of thoſe *Mendicants* in the Streets, who beg our Charity with a *half Sheet of Propoſals* pinn'd upon their Breaſts: To what purpoſe is it to tell us that Mr. *John Walker* is to go halves with him in the *Gain or Loſs* of this Work, except to move the Compaſſion of *good Chriſtian People*, and to beg of us, however unkind we may be to himſelf, yet not to ſee a *poor young Critick* undone for want of charitable Contributions?

But indeed moſt People are agreed in Opinion, that he has borrowed his Scheme from *Change-Alley*, and in this Age of *Bubbles* took the hint to ſet up *one of his own:* For having invented a *rare Secret* to make *Paper* more durable than *Parchment*, and a *printed Book*, however uſed and tumbled about, to *out-laſt any Manuſcript* preſerved with the utmoſt Care, he preſently *takes in a Partner, opens Books for Subſcriptions*, and does not in the leaſt queſtion but that *Bentley*'s Bubble will be as famous and profitable as the beſt of them; and ſo leaving him to carry on *his Trade*, I ſhall paſs on to an Obſervation or two upon his Specimen.

The SPECIMEN.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕΩΣ ΚΕΦ. κβ΄.

1 ΚΑΙ ἔδειξέν μοι ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς, λαμπρὸν ὡς κρύσταλλον, ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου.

2 Ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν, ξύλον ζωῆς ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, κατὰ μῆνα ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀποδιδοῦν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν.

3 Καὶ πᾶν κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, καὶ ὁ

APOCALYPSEOS CAP. XXII.

1 ET oſtendit mihi fluvium aquae vitae, ſplendidum tamquam Cryſtallum, procedentem de ſede Dei & agni.

2 In medio plateae ejus, & ex utraque parte fluminis, lignum vitae adferens fructus duodecim, per menſes ſingulos reddens fructum ſuum, & folia ligni ad ſanitatem gentium.

3 Et omne maledictum non erit amplius,

1 μοι καθαρὸν ποταμὸν. 2 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν. 3 πᾶν κατανάθεμα.

I. Καθαρὸν ποταμὸν] Deeſt καθαρὸν Alex. Codd. Anglici duo, Gallici tres; Verſ. Copt. Syr. Aeth. Hilarius; Codd. Latini omnes. ſed Andreas & Arethas ποταμὸν καθαρὸν. Gall. unus, ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς καθαρόν. II. Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν] Alex. Codd. Angl. duo, Gall. quatuor, Germ. unus, Arethas, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν. III. Κατανάθεμα] Alex. Arethas, Andreas, Codd. plerique omnes,

θρόνος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσται, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ λατρεύσουσιν αὐτῷ.

4 Καὶ ὄψονται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν.

5 Καὶ νὺξ οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν χρείαν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου, ὅτι κύριος ὁ Θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

6 Καὶ εἶπέν μοι, Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ

plius, & ſedes Dei & agni in illa erit, & ſervi ejus ſervient illi.

4 Et videbunt faciem ejus, & nomen ejus in frontibus eorum.

5 Et nox ultra non erit, & non egebunt lumine lucernae, neque lumine ſolis, quoniam dominus Deus inluminabit illos, & regnabunt in ſaecula ſaeculorum.

6 Et dixit mihi, Haec verba fideliſſima

U 4 & ve-

5 οὐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ. καὶ χρείαν οὐκ ἔχουσι λύχνου καὶ, φωτὸς ἡλίου. φωτιζει αὐτούς. 6 καὶ κύριος, deeſt ὁ. ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν.

3 *ſed* ſedes dei. in illa *erunt*

6 fideliſſima ſunt & vera.

nes, Editio Complut. κατάθεμα. *Sed* ſedes dei] Codd. Lat. plerique omnes *Et* ſedes, ut Graeci omnes καὶ *Erunt*] Ita Codd. quos adhuc vidi; Legendum *Erit*; nam Graeci univerſi ὁ θρόνος. V. Νὺξ οὐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ] Alex. ἔσται ἔτι. Syr. Latini omnes. In Graecis pleriſque deeſt ἐκεῖ. Χρείαν ἔχουσι λύχνου] Alex. ἔχουσιν χρείαν φωτὸς λύχνου; & ſic Gregorius Palamas, & Codd. Latini omnes. Syrus. Copt. Aethiop. Φωτὸς ἡλίου] Alex. φῶς ἡλίου. Φωτίζει αὐτοὺς] Latini plerique *Illuminat*, Sed Alex. Greg. Palamas, φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτούς. VI. Καὶ κύριος] Alex. καὶ ὁ κύριος.

ἀληθινοί· καὶ ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ, δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει.

& vera ſunt & dominus Deus ſpirituum prophetarum miſit angelum ſuum, oſtendere ſervis ſuis quae oportet fieri cito.

7 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ. μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου.

7 Et ecce venio velociter. beatus qui cuſtodit verba prophetiae libri hujus.

8 Καγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων ταῦτα. Καὶ ὅτε ἤκουσα καὶ ἔβλεπον, ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ δεικνύοντός μοι ταῦτα.

8 Et ego Johannes, qui audivi & vidi haec. Et poſtquam audiſſem & vidiſſem, cecidi ut adorarem ante pedes angeli qui mihi haec oſtendebat.

7 Ἰδοὺ, deeſt καὶ. 8 Καὶ ἐγὼ. ὁ βλέπων ταῦτα καὶ ἀκούων. καὶ ἔβλεψα, ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν.

Ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν] Sic edidit Eraſmus. Sed Complut. Alex. Arethas, Graeci Codd. fere omnes, Latini omnes, Syr. Copt. Aethiop. τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφ. Fideliſſima ſunt & vera] Codd. veteres, fid. & vera ſunt. VII. Ἰδοὺ] Καὶ ἰδοὺ Alex. Andreas, Arethas, Syrus, Codd. Graeci plerique omnes, Latini ad unum omnes. VIII. Καὶ ἐγὼ Ιω. ὁ βλέπων ταῦτα καὶ ἀκούων] Alex. Andreas, Complut. Syrus, Latinus, Codd. Graeci plures. Καγὼ Ιω. ὁ ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων ταῦτα. Dionyſius Alexandrinus bis, Καγὼ ὁ βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα. Ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν] Alex. πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν.

9 Et

9 Καὶ λέγει μοι, Ὅρα μή. σύνδουλός σε εἰμὶ, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σε τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν τηρούντων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου. τῷ Θεῷ προσκύνησον.

10 Καὶ λέγει μοι, Μὴ σφραγίσῃς τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου· ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν.

11 Ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀδικησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δι-

9 Et dicit mihi, Vide ne feceris: conſervus tuus ſum, & fratrum tuorum prophetarum, & eorum qui ſervant verba libri hujus: Deum adora.

10 Et dicit mihi, Ne ſignaveris verba prophetiae libri hujus: tempus enim prope eſt.

11 Qui nocet noceat adhuc, & qui in ſordibus eſt ſordeſcat adhuc.

9 σε γάρ εἰμι. 10 τοῦτο ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν. 11 Καὶ ὁ ῥυπῶν ῥυπωσάτω ἔτι. ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι.

9 Et *dixit* mihi. Conſervus *enim* tuus. verba *prophetiae* libri.

11 Et *qui* juſtus *eſt juſtificetur* adhuc.

IX. Et *dixit* mihi] Codd. veteres conſtanter, *Dicit*; ut Gr. λέγει. Συνδοῦλός σε γὰρ εἰμὶ. & Vulg. Conſervus *enim* tuus ſum] Atqui Alex. Arethas, Andreas, Athanaſius, Copt. Syr. Graeci Codd. omnes tollunt γὰρ; & Latini itidem omnes & Cyprianus tollunt *enim*. Verba *prophetiae* libri] Latini veteres omnes tollunt *prophetiae*. X. Ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν.] Sic Andreas, & Cyprianus bis, *Quia jam tempus in proximo eſt*. Sed Alex. Codices Gr. plures, Syr. Copt. Latini omnes, Ο καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν. Graeci ceteri ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν. deſunt ὅτι & γὰρ. XI. Καὶ ὁ ῥυπῶν ῥυπωσάτω ἔτι.] Deeſt hoc Comma in Alex. & duobus Gallicis errore Librariorum ob repetitionem

δίκαι☉ δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ἅγι☉ ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι.

huc, & juſtus juſtitiam faciat adhuc, & ſanctus ſanctificetur adhuc.

12 Ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ· καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ.

12 Ecce venio cito: & merces mea mecum eſt, reddere unicuique ſecundum opera ſua.

13 Ἐγὼ τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ω, πρῶτ☉ καὶ ἔ-

13 Ego A & Ω, primus & noviſſimus, prin-

12 Καὶ ἰδοὺ. ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἔσται. 13 Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλ☉, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος.

13 Ego *ſum* A & Ω.

nem τοῦ ἔτι. At ceteri fere omnes, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι. Origenes ad Johannem bis, ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπανθήτω ἔτι. Idem ibid. aliud membrum addit, Ως ὁ Ιωάννης φησι, καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς καθαρισθήτω ἔτι (MS. Oxon. καθαρθήτω) καὶ ὁ ἅγ. ἁγιασθήτω. Καὶ ὁ δίκαι☉ δικαιωθήτω] Alex. & Codd. ceteri omnes, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. Latin. Syr. Copt. δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω. Cyprianus bis; Juſtus *juſtiora faciat* adhuc. Et qui juſtus eſt juſtificetur adhuc, veteres Codd. fere omnes, Et Juſtus juſtitiam faciat adhuc. XII. Καὶ ἰδοὺ] Delent καὶ Alex. Codd. plerique omnes Arethas Complut. Syr. Copt. Latini Codd omnes. Cyprianus bis. Ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἔσται] Alex. Gallicus unus, Syr. ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ. XIII. Ἐγώ εἰμι] Deeſt εἰμὶ Alex. Athanaſius, Codd. fere omnes, Andreas, Arethas. Sed Origenes habet εἰμὶ bis. Ego *ſum*] Deeſt *ſum*. Codex Sancti Germani veterrimus. Ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος]

σχατος, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος.

14 Μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

15 Ἔξω οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ φαρμακοὶ καὶ οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰ-

principium & finis.

14 Beati qui lavant ſtolas ſuas, ut ſit poteſtas eorum in ligno vitae, & portis intrent in civitatem.

15 Foris canes & venefici & impudici & homicidae & idolis ſervientes.

14 Μακάριοι οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτῆ ἵνα. 15 Ἔξω δὲ οἱ κύνες, πᾶς ὁ φιλῶν.

14 Stolas ſuas *in ſanguine agni.*—& *per portas* intrent.

σχαῖος] Sic Andreas, Arethas, & Codd. quidam. Sed Alex. Athanaſ. Codd. Anglici tres. Gall. duo, Syr. Latini omnes, Cyprianus, alio ordine, πρῶτος καὶ ἔσχατος ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. Origines bis habet ἡ ἀρ. καὶ τὸ τέλος· ſed ordine, ut Andreas. XIV. Οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ] Ita Codd. Graeci plerique omnes, Copt. Syr. Tertull. Cypr. Sed Alex. Anglicus unus, Aeth. Latini Codd. omnes οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, Athanaſ. οἱ πλαίνοντες ποιοῦντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, errore Librarii pro πλύνοντες. Arethas, ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐν μῷ ut ſententia illa poſtulare videtur. In ſanguine agni] Deſunt in veteribus Codd. omnibus. Per portas] Tres Codd. veterrimi *portis*, ut Graeci omnes τοῖς πυλῶσιν. XV. Ἔξω δὲ οἱ κύνες] Deeſt δὲ Alex. ceteri fere omnes, Athanaſius, Hippolytus, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. Latini omnes, Cyprianus. Πᾶς ὁ φιλῶν] Deeſt articulus ὁ Alex.

δωλολάτραι, καὶ πᾶς φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος.

16 Ἐγὼ Ἰησοῦς ἔπεμψα τὸν ἄγγελόν μου, μαρτυρῆσαι ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυὶδ, ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς καὶ ὁ πρωϊνός.

17 Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη λέγουσιν Ἔρχου· καὶ ὁ ἀκούων εἰπάτω, Ἔρχου· καὶ ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω· ὁ θέλων λαβέτω ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν.

vientes, & omnis qui amat & facit mendacium.

16 Ego Jeſus miſi angelum meum, teſtificari vobis haec in Eccleſiis. ego ſum radix & genus David, ſtella ſplendida & matutina.

17 Et ſpiritus & ſponſa dicunt, Veni: & qui ſitit veniat: qui vult accipiat aquam vitae gratis.

16 ταῦτα ἐπὶ ταῖς. γένος τῦ Δαβὶδ. λαμπρὸς καὶ ὁ ὀρθρινός. 17 λέγουσιν, Ελθέ. εἰπάτω, Ελθέ. δι-

17 *Et* qui vult.

ὁ Alex. alii multi. Sed Athanaſius, Hippolytus, cum Codd. quibuſdam πᾶς ποιῶν καὶ φιλῶν. XVI. Ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις] Ἐν ταῖς Alex Codd. 2 Gallici. Athanaſius. Deeſt præpoſitio in Codd. multis. Τῦ Δαβὶδ] Deeſt τοῦ Alex. Codd. multi. Athanaſius, Andreas, Arethas. Porro omnes Graeci Δαυὶδ, vel compendioſe δαὸ; nuſquam invenitur Δαβὶδ. Λαμπρὸς καὶ ὁ ὀρθρινὸς] Alex. καὶ ὁ πρωΐνος. Sed ceteri Cod. cum Athanaſio, Andrea, Aretha, Complut. πρωΐνος. XVII. Ελθὲ ἐλθὲ—ἐλθέτω] Alex. & ceteri omnes, Athanaſ. And. Arethas, Complut. ἔρχου—ἔρχου—ἐρχέσθω. Καὶ ὁ θέλων λαμβανέτω τὸ ὕδωρ] Deeſt καὶ & poſtea ὁ θέλων λαβέτω ὕδωρ. Alex. Codd. fere omnes, Athanaſius, Andreas, Complut. *Et* qui vult] Codd. Latini veteres tollunt *Et*.

18 Con-

18 Μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ παντὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι τὰς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου, ἐάν τις ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά, ἐπιθήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς πληγὰς τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ.

19 Καὶ ἐάν τις ἀφέλῃ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τῆς προφη-

18 Conteſtor ego omni audienti verba prophetiae libri hujus, ſiquis adpoſuerit ad haec, adponet Deus ſuper illum plagas ſcriptas in libro iſto.

19 Et ſiquis diminuerit de verbis libri prophetiae hujus, auferet

ψῶν ἐλθέτω, κ.τ.λ.—λαμβανέτω τὸ ὕδωρ. 18 Συμμαρτυρέμαι γὰρ παντὶ ἀκού. ἐάν τις ἐπιθῇ πρὸς ταῦτα. ἐν βιβλίῳ deeſt τῷ. 19 ἐάν τις ἀφαιρῇ—λόγων βίβλου.

18 Conteſtor *enim* omni. 19 de *libro* vitae.

XVIII. Συμμαρτυρέμαι γὰρ] Alex. & alii Codd. plerique & Complut. & Andreas μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ: pauci cum Aretha μαρτύρομαι ἐγὼ: nullus, quod ſciam, συμμαρτυρέμαι, neque γάρ. Conteſtor *enim* omni] Codd. veterrimi quicumque, Conteſtor *ego* omni. Παντὶ ἀκούοντι] Alex. Andreas. Arethas, Codices plures, παντὶ τῷ ἀκ. Επιτιθῇ πρὸς ταῦτα] Alex. Codd. plerique omnes Andreas, Arethas, Complut. ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά. Επ' αὐτὸν] Deeſt Alex. ſed ceteri Graeci & Latini omnes cum Andrea & Aretha habent. Εν βιβλίῳ] Alex. Arethas, Andreas, Codd. plurimi ἐν τῷ βιβ. XIX. Αφαιρῇ—ἀφαιρήσει] Alex. Codd. plerique, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. ἀφέλῃ, & deinde pro ἀφαιρήσει. Alex. Arethas cum Codd. pluribus habent ἀφελεῖ: alii cum Andrea & Complut. ἀφέλοι;

hinc & hinc: we find the Phraſe very often in the Old Teſtament, and conſtantly rendred in the *Greek* by ἐνῦεῦθεν κ᾽ ἐνῦεῦθεν, ἔνθεν κ᾽ ἔνθεν, ἔνθα κ᾽ ἔνθα, (*Dan.* xii. 5. *Numb.* xxii. 24. *Ezek.* xl. 34, 37. 1 *Mac.* vi. 45.) and St. *John* himſelf in his Goſpel, (xix. 18.) has likewiſe the very words ἐνῦεῦθεν κ᾽ ἐνῦεῦθεν, without ſo much as a *various Reading* yet obſerved upon it; and 'tis not poſſible to imagine, that being a *Jew* he could uſe any other Phraſe. Yet our Editor not content, like Dr. *Mills*, to obſerve in his Notes the different Reading of this Paſſage in ſome *few Manuſcripts*, has inſtead of the ſecond ἐνῦεῦθεν boldly advanced ἐκεῖθεν into the Text, fanſying it, I ſuppoſe, to be ſomething more *Elegant*.

As for the *Latin Verſion*, the Reader will eaſily ſee, that it is upon the Matter a *Verbal Tranſlation*, imitating as nearly as poſſible the great Plainneſs and Simplicity of Stile in the *Greek*, which makes it neceſſary in a good Meaſure to fall into the *ſame Order of Words*; but this is no new Obſervation or Diſcovery of our Propoſer's, but what all other Editors have conſtantly obſerved, and applied accordingly to their Purpoſe: St. *Auſtin* calls this Verſion, *Verborum tenacior cum perſpicuitate Sententiæ.*

And Dr. *Mills* ſhews us the Genius and Nature of it through all the ſeveral Books of the New Teſtament, and ſays, that in the *Revelations*

tions particularly, Verſio admodùm accurata erat, ipſiſque textûs Græci Veſtigiis ubique fere κατὰ πόδας inſiſtebat, niſi cùm ſeries narrationis exigeret, ut mutarentur verborum tempora. Proleg. Which may ſuggeſt one Reaſon, amongſt others which are obvious, why *this Chapter* was made choice of for *the Specimen*; but that *the Order of Words of the Greek* is not *conſtantly* and *unalterably* obſerved in the *Latin*, appears from many Inſtances in this Chapter, as I have above remarked; which is ſufficient to overthrow our Author's Hypotheſis.

After all, I will not pretend to deny, that our Author may poſſibly have met with and collated ſome *few Manuſcripts*, which Dr. *Mills* had not heard or made uſe of; but what Reaſon or Pretence can this give him for ſuch a Triumph and Inſult over all the Editors before him?

He has already told us, *(Remarks on Free-thinkers*, page 69.) *That with all the Thirty Thouſand various Readings, no one Article of Faith or even moral Precept is either loſt or perverted in them, chuſe as aukwardly as you can, chuſe the worſt by deſign out of the whole lump:* How ridiculous is it then to make ſuch a pother about the diſcovery of *a few more inſignificant ones*, as if the *Cauſe of Religion*, and the Support of the *Chriſtian Church* depended upon it?

He may indeed, if he pleaſes, like his *Friend Dr. Kuſter*, publiſh *a new Edition of Dr. Mills's Work*, with the additional Readings he has picked up (if any ſuch there be) and *the Latin Verſion* beſides; but while he pretends to give us a *new Original Edition of his own*, upon the *Scheme* and *Plan of theſe Propoſals*, he will be found, I am apt to think, at laſt to have acted *the Plagiary* rather than the *Critick*.

I might properly enough obſerve the many *Blunders* and *Erratas of the Preſs*, (as remarkable in *this Specimen* as in the very worſt of our *printed Editions*) to ſhew that there is no kind of *Inaccuracy* but what may juſtly be charged upon it; but the Reader is, I believe, already ſufficiently convinced with the *Author of St. James's Poſt*, that thoſe *Propoſals are a moſt curious Piece*, ſince ſo much *Vanity*, *Pedantry*, *Blunder*, and *Self-Contradiction* were hardly ever found together before within the compaſs of one ſingle Sheet.

SOME

SOME FARTHER

REMARKS,

PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH,

UPON

PROPOSALS

Lately publiſhed for

A New EDITION

OF A

GREEK and LATIN Teſtament,

BY

RICHARD BENTLEY,

CONTAINING

A full Anſwer to the Editor's late Defence of his ſaid PROPOSALS, as well as to all his Objections there made againſt my former REMARKS.

Imperitiam tuam nemo poteſt fortiùs accuſare, quam Tu ipſe dum ſcribis. Hieron.

——*Occupatus ille eruditione ſecularium literarum ſcripturas omninò ſanctas ignoraverit; & nemo poſſit, quamvis eloquens, de eo benè diſputare, quod neſciat.* Ibid.

THE

PREFACE.

AS *ſoon as* my Remarks *were publiſhed, finding that I was threatened with an* Anſwer, *I began, one may imagine, to be in no ſmall Pain for myſelf; eſpecially when I recollected, that it was* an old Trick with our good Chriſtian Editor, to talk weakly often out of Deſign, [a] to diſſemble his Strength, *and* keep his Arguments out of Sight, on purpoſe to draw ſome forward, wrangling Loggerhead into his Net, and ſo make a little Mirth and Sport with him for the Entertainment of the Learned. *I could not help fancying, that I had* ſwallowed the Bait, *and was certainly caught in one of* his Critical Traps; *I began to reflect that* his Propoſals *could hardly be ſo* weak, *as they appeared, without* ſome Trick, *ſome* Deſign *at the bottom; and that as ſhallow as I thought them, they might probably be found at laſt to be* plena ſenſibus, * full of deep, latent, recondite Senſes, *ſuch as my poor Capacity could not fathom; and that I was now to be made an Example of,*

* p. 22.

[a] Non rarò etiam data operâ brevior contractiorque fui, conſultò viribus parcens, & quæ in promptu mihi erant, opes diſſimulans; ut ſtolidi & ad depugnandum parati ſe in laqueos inopinantes inducrent, riſum jocumque naſutioribus daturi, Vid. Bentl. Not. in Horat.

for a Warning to all future Nibblers *at the Fame and Learning of this Great* Man.

But his Anſwer *no ſooner appeared, than all my Fears were at an End; for I preſently found, that I had put him* paſt his joking, *and that inſtead of* diverting himſelf and his Brother Critics *at my Expence,* the Jeſt *was much more likely to* end upon himſelf: *For tho'* his Title *promiſed us a* full Anſwer to my Remarks, *yet I obſerved, that he had paſſed over many* material ones, *without* any Anſwer *at all; and that where he had exerted all his Skill and Pains, his Reaſoning was* ſo evaſive, ſo prevaricating, *and* ſo little to the Purpoſe, *as to give me onely a farther Opportunity of demonſtrating the two things I had undertaken,* viz. *his great Ignorance of* Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, *and the* main Points *in Diſpute; as well as his* manifeſt Incapacity *for the Work now upon his Hands;* an Edition of the New Teſtament.

But what was the moſt ſurprizing in this extraordinary Piece *of his, was to find it to be in Fact a* moſt virulent and malicious Libel *upon Dr.* Colbatch, *a* Reverend *and* Learned *Member of his College, on Pretence of his being the* Author of the Remarks; *tho' he could not poſſibly be ignorant* long before *his Book was publiſhed, that this* worthy Gentleman *was perfectly unconcerned in the Controverſy; wholly out of the Queſtion; and had not any Share or Part at all in* adviſing

or

or aſſiſting *me on the Occaſion. For I no ſooner heard, that ſome of my Friends were ſuſpected by him, but to prevent any Inconvenience which might befal ſuch of them as were more immediately under his Power, I freely owned my ſelf the* ſole Author, *gave Commiſſion to my Acquaintance to make no Secret of it any where; and was informed, at different times, by ſeveral of them, that they had aſſured ſome of* his principal Friends *and* Confidents *of the* Truth *and* Certainty *of it, to their own Knowledge. Dr.* Colbatch *on the other hand, did from the beginning* (as he afterwards thought fit to declare by a printed Advertiſement) *conſtantly* diſclaim *the Imputation in ſuch a* publick *and* open Manner, *as muſt of Neceſſity come to* the Knowledge of our Editor.

But tho' he knew very well the true Author, *yet he was reſolved to diſſemble it, for the* double Pleaſure *it would give him of* abuſing Dr. Colbatch, *and ſhewing his* Contempt of me. *He has long made it his Buſineſs to repreſent* me *every where as a* worthleſs inſignificant Mortal; the Muſical Conyers; † the Publiſher of other Mens Labours. *He began the* Controverſy in the College, *by writing a moſt* falſe and ſcandalous Libel *upon* me by Name, *as well as all the* other Fellows *of the Society who were* Petitioners *againſt him to the* late Biſhop of Ely. *And to have owned* me *for the* Author of Remarks, *which the World had received with Approbation, would have been little better than giving himſelf*

† p. 11. 36.

the Lie; *to own, that I could produce any thing* in the Way of Learning *conſiderable enough to* merit an Anſwer *from him, was a* Mortification too ſevere *for him to ſubmit to.*

As to the Merit *of his Performance; nothing ſure was ever contrived or conducted* ſo injudi-
* p. 10. ciouſly. *He repreſents* my Remarks * *as the Product of meer* Spleen and Envy; *yet gives me the onely Satisfaction a* ſplenetic Writer *could wiſh, of ſeeing that they have* ſtung him *to the quick, and* galled him *moſt effectually. He would have them looked upon as* trifling *and* contempti-
† p. 44. ble; † *yet will needs have them written by* a Perſon eminent and diſtinguiſhed in the Univerſity *for his* Learning. *His Buſineſs is to ſhew what* ſingular Talents *he has for* an Editor of the New Teſtament; *yet he has convinced us by his* manner of Writing, *that he has never* read with any effect, *or* ſtudied with any Care the very Books *he pretends to publiſh.*

Some People have obſerved, that the onely Way of entering into the true Spirit and Sentiments *of an Author, is to put our ſelves,* in Imagination *at leaſt, into the* very Circumſtances *he was in at the Time of his Writing. But* our Editor *is ſo far from accommodating himſelf to the* Character and Condition of an Apoſtle; *ſo far from compoſing his Mind to that* Charity, Meekneſs *and* Benevolence, *which flows in every Expreſſion* of the Goſpel, *that he has been giving us a* Specimen *onely, how well*

well he could imitate and publiſh Philippics; *and that the beſt* Heathen Orator *of them all is not to be compared with him, for the* true Virulence and Rancour of his Invectives.

A Cauſe, ſupported with ſo much Paſſion *and* Scandal, *will always be ſuſpected by Men of Senſe and Candour*; Reaſon *and* Truth *could never raiſe* ſuch Tempeſts *in the Breaſt, but give* an Eaſineſs *always and* Complacency *to the Mind*; *'tis the* Conſciouſneſs *of being in the wrong, and the* Shame *of being detected that* ruffle *and* diſorder it.

Ἀπορία λόγων ἐστὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν τρέπεσθαι. *Euſeb.*

'Tis, as Euſebius *obſerves, pure* want of Argument *that ſets him thus a* railing; *'tis the* Rage of a foil'd and baffled Critic; *the* Fury *of an* old Tyrant in Letters, *to find, after a Reign of* thirty Years, his Title *at laſt diſputed, and* his Ignorance *expoſed.*

I have avoided to take any Notice, in the following Remarks, of the wretched Scandal *and* Scurrility, *which* crowd his Pages to the Offence of all good Perſons; *I could eaſily have forgiven any* Turns of Wit *or* Raillery *ariſing from the Subject, however* ſevere *upon me, or however* awkwardly *attempted by him; but for the* ſenſeleſs, unpointed Ribaldry *which every Paragraph of his is filled with*; *'tis enough for me to leave it to that* univerſal Contempt, *which I'm*

ſenſible

ſenſible it has met with; were I capable of returning it in kind, *I could deſpiſe* my ſelf, *I aſſure him, much more heartily than he does. But we may hope however to reap from it* one Satisfaction, *that it will probably oblige the* worthy Gentleman *ſo ſcandalouſly injured by it, to give* the Publick *ſome Account of* his own *and* our Editor's *Conduct in the* preſent Differences of the College; *it is now in a manner become* neceſſary *for him to publiſh ſome* Apology *for himſelf, and not to ſuffer* his Perſon and Character *to be expoſed to the World under ſuch* falſe *and* deteſtable Colours *as* our Editor *has painted them in.*

And leſt I ſhould again be the unhappy Inſtrument *of drawing ſo much* Trouble *and* Injury *upon* any other Friend *of mine; I have here* ſet my Name *to my preſent Performance, owning* my ſelf *to be wholly anſwerable for every thing contained in it; and being deſirous to give* our Editor *all the Satisfaction I am able, am content to declare my ſelf in as* ample Manner and Form, *as his* own Lawyers *had drawn up for me on* another Occaſion; *that I am the* ſole Collector, Compoſer *and* Author of every Part, Paragraph *and* Sentence *in the following Book.*

There's one thing which I find neceſſary to recommend to the Reader, before I cloſe this Preface; that is, to obſerve and diſtinguiſh the true State of the Queſtion, *between* our Editor *and* my ſelf, *as far as relates to St.* Jerom *and* the Order of Words.

Words. *He lays much Streſs every where upon the* cloſe Adherence *of the* old Latin Verſions to the Order of Words *of the Original*; *and many, I am ſenſible, for want of Attention, have been deceived by it into an Opinion of the Juſtneſs and Truth of his Reaſoning, as if it were confirmed by Fact and Experiment. Whereas all this is really nothing at all to his Purpoſe, nor in any Manner affects the preſent Controverſy*; *I have already allowed it in my* former Remarks, *and ſhall again obſerve in the* following ones *how moſt of our* Prior Editors *have long ſince taken notice of it, and made all the Uſe, that can be drawn from it in their* ſeveral Editions. *The* ſingle Point *in Diſpute as to this Caſe, is how far St.* Jerom *contributed to this Agreement in* Words and Order of Words *between the* Latin *and* Greek *of the* New Teſtament. *He maintains, that St.* Jerom, *believing the* Order of Words to be myſterious, *confined himſelf* religiouſly *to the Obſervance of it, in* his Tranſlations of Scripture, *and conſequently in his Caſtigation of the* Old Vulgate, *took care to adapt and reduce it, as much as he could*, to this very Order. *This is all that is* new *in his preſent Scheme*; *this he lays down as the* ſole Reaſon *and* Foundation *of his intended* Edition; *and this is the* onely Notion *which I have endeavoured to expoſe*; *if I have ſucceeded in it, the Reader muſt own, that I have performed what I had undertaken, and have ſhewn this* great Deſign of his *to be at leaſt very ill grounded, and* raſhly *and* injudiciouſly *undertaken. Leſt*

Leſt any one ſhould think that I have been too ſevere, *in my* Reflections *upon the* Stile *and* Language of our Editor, *I thought it neceſſary to ſubjoin here a* Specimen *of it; where I have taken no other Liberty with* his Words, *than that of collecting and ranging them into ſome kind of Order.*

An Engliſh Cabbage-head, p. 37.

An Inſect, a Worm, a Maggot, Book-Vermin; the Venom of ſuch Vermin, p. 10, 36.

The Animal; a ſharp-ſighted Mole; a gnawing Rat; a ſnarling Dog; a roaring Lion in Libya *with long Ears,* p. 11, 10, 18, 28, 11.

The Man with a thick Hide and ſolid Forehead; Suffenus, Zoilus, Margites, Timon, *Miſanthrope, ſwarthy* Timon, *hard-fac'd* Timon, *grinning* Zoilus, *of Intellect as dark as his Countenance,* p. 13, 9, 25, 33, 22, 27, 30.

An ignorant Thief; a Wretch of native Stupidity; of low Talents and vicious Taſte; ſupercilious Pedant; caſuiſtick Drudge; plodding Pupil of Eſcobar; *of ſuperficial Learning and profound Ignorance; a Fool labouring to be witty; of Fog and Dulneſs; of ſubſtantial Stupidity; of Stupour and Inſenſibility beyond the famous* Tom Coryat, p. 30, 25, 31, 42, 22, 29, 13, 37, 23, 33, 36.

A Moun-

A Mountebank of habitual Grimace, who for many Years has daily acted a Grimace; aiming at awkward Ridicule; with Eyes, Muſcles and Shoulders wrought into a ſolemn Poſture of Gravity, p. 43, 31, 10, 37, 10.

Of moſt tenacious and ſordid Avarice, p. 38.

Lunatick Timon; *crazy-headed Cenſor; in a dark Room; under the Repute of Crazineſs and Madneſs; falling into raving Fits and ſudden Extravagance under the Influence of the Moon; a Scribbler out of the dark; mad at the great Encouragement of the Propoſals, he raged, ſtormed, and took his deadly Pen in Hand*, p. 34, 10, 39, 32, 38, 24, 39.

Of Rancour and Malice implacable; of Spleen and Envy a ſpightful Examiner; whoſe Life and Studies have been ſpent in libelling and defaming; ſquabbling in the College to keep up his Spirits; a Libeller of the Government; guilty of Scandalum Magnatum; *old Conſcience, good Affidavit-Man, yet left his Friend* Conyers *in peril of the Pillory; broaching always mere Knavery, with a Preface about his Conſcience; a moſt impudent Liar; a pious Calumniator; ungrateful; malignant; virulent; deteſtable*, p. 43, 39, 31, 36, 39, 11, 14, 35, 10, 21, 29, 14.

Legion, extending his wide Jaws, and ſmiling horrible like Satan, p. 9. 40.

And

And yet it is notorious to the whole Univerſity, that the Gentleman, *whoſe Picture is here deſigned by our* Editor, *is as* unlike *and* contrary *to it in* every Circumſtance of his Character, *as any Man living; being a Perſon of a* ſtudious, retired *and* exemplary Life; *of a* Virtue never reproached, *except with* too great a Severity; *and of* ſingular Talents and Abilities *to adorn the* honourable Poſt, *he now fills amongſt us; the* Profeſſorſhip of Caſuiſtical Divinity.

Finding

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 20, 1721.

FInding *myſelf to be treated after a moſt barbarous manner in a virulent Libel, which bears the Title of* Dr. Bentley's Propoſals, with a full Anſwer, *&c. upon Pretence of my being the Author of* The Remarks upon the Propoſals lately publiſhed by Richard Bentley, *&c. I think it neceſſary upon ſeveral Accounts to declare as follows,* viz.

That I am not the Author of thoſe Remarks, *nor any part of them, and that they were undertaken and written without my Aſſiſtance or Knowledge.*

That R. B. *certainly knew, or eaſily might have known, that they were written by the Reverend and Learned Dr.* MIDDLETON, *who had own'd them to ſeveral of his Friends, by whoſe means he verily believes, that* R. B. *was inform'd that he alone was the Author. For my own part, preſently after the* Remarks *were publiſh'd, I took all Occaſions to declare as above, being obliged in Juſtice ſo to do, leſt my Silence might in ſome meaſure contribute to deprive my worthy Friend of the Honour due for ſo excellent a Performance: nor do I queſtion but that* R. B. *before he began to write his Libel, had been acquainted with what I ſaid on thoſe Occaſions.*

That thoſe foul Aſperſions, which are caſt upon me in almoſt every Page, are as falſe in Fact, as they are apparently malicious; which is notorious to all who know me, and to none more than R. B. *himſelf.*

That I never wrote any Libels againſt the Government, the College, or the Maſter, as he falſly aſſerts.

I never wrote any thing at all relating to the Government, or publiſh'd any thing concerning the College, or the Maſter, except a Commemoration Sermon in Dec. 1717, *which the Maſter pretended to approve of, giving it under his Hand that he would ſubſcribe to every word of it. As to other matters relating to either, I have hitherto thought them fit onely for the Cognizance of a Viſitor.*

JOHN COLBATCH, D. D. Senior Fellow of *Trinity* College, and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge.*

CAM-

CAMBRIDGE.

At a Meeting of the Vice-Chancellor *and* Heads, *Feb.* 27, 1720-21.

WHereas the Reverend John Colbatch, *D. D. and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of this Univerſity, hath made Complaint to us of a Book lately publiſhed, annexed to* Propoſals for printing a new Edition of the Greek Teſtament *&c. and call'd,* A full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pampleteer, by a Member of Trinity College, *ſubſcribed* J. E. *wherein the ſaid* John Colbatch *conceives himſelf to be highly injured, as being repreſented under the moſt reproachful and infamous Character, and hath therefore applied to us for Redreſs. We the* Vice-Chancellor *and* Heads *of Colleges, whoſe Names are underwritten, having peruſed the ſaid Book, do find that the ſaid Dr.* Colbatch *had juſt Ground of Complaint, it appearing to us, that he is therein deſcribed under very odious and ignominious Characters, and do declare and pronounce the ſaid Book to be a moſt virulent and ſcandalous* Libel; *highly injurious to the ſaid Dr.* Colbatch, *contrary to good Manners, and a notorious Violation of the Statutes and Diſcipline of this Univerſity. And as ſoon as the Author of the ſaid* Libel *can be diſcovered, we reſolve to do Juſtice to the ſaid Dr.* Colbatch, *by inflicting ſuch Cenſure upon the Offender, as the Statutes of this Univerſity in that Caſe do appoint.*

Tho. Croſſe, *Vice-Chancellor.*
John Covel.
C. Aſhton.
Bardſey Fiſher.
Edw. Lany.
R. Jenkin.
Wm. Grig.
D. Waterland.
Wm. Savage.

SOME

SOME FARTHER

REMARKS,

PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH,

UPON

PROPOSALS, &c.

OUR Editor begins his *diſmal Story*, by acquainting us, that *the Author of the Remarks, at the firſt publiſhing, might have been called Legion* *; this we muſt own to be ſetting out like *an Editor of the New Teſtament*, with a *Scripture Simile* in his Mouth; but how does he make it out? Why, becauſe *every one*, he ſays, *of the Univerſity that was thought to have Conceitedneſs and Malice enough to write it, was ſuſpected to be the Author.* The Truth is, that he and his Friends did *me* and *my Remarks* the Honour to impute them to many Perſons of *allowed Learning and Abilities*; and tho' it ſoon appeared, that not *one of thoſe*, they were pleaſed to ſuſpect, had the leaſt Hand or Share *in the Guilt*, yet the *very ſuſpicion*, it ſeems, was enough to make them odious; they were capable of doing it, and therefore *our Editor* hates them, and the Opportunity muſt not be loſt of branding them here with the Characters of *conceited* and *malicious*.

* p. 9.

But the Author's Party is diſcovered, he tells us, *in his Title-page, where our Maſter is named plain* Richard Bentley, *without the Honour of his Degree* *. This indeed is a Charge which I cannot deny to be true; my *very Title-page* diſcovers that I belong to an *Univerſity*, which has *deprived him of his Degrees*; and might very juſtly have *deprived me too*, if I ſhould pretend to beſtow *Titles*, which ſhe has thought fit *to take away*; but *our Editor* knows full well that he has no Right or Claim to the *Stile of Doctor*; and whenever he ſpeaks or acts in his own Perſon, dare not ſo much as aſſume it himſelf; in the *Title of his own Propoſals*, we have no more than *Edidit Richardus Bentleius*; and I, who am onely tranſlating him, ſay, *publiſhed by Richard Bentley*; pray where's the Difference? In an *Information* drawn up and proſecuted by himſelf, for a *late Pamphlet* againſt him, *the Charge* is for vilifying the Reputation of *one Richard Bentley*; the calling himſelf Doctor, might, he knows, have been fatal to his Cauſe, and have endangered a *Nonſuit*; therefore, *Good Maſter Richard*, be not for once ſo ceremonious, nor ſtand ſo much upon Compliments with *your old Friend Conyers* †. But what is the moſt provoking to him is, that I will not allow him to have either *Talents* or *Materials* adequate to the Work he has undertaken; this I muſt declare to be my Opinion, and as I am well convinc'd of it my ſelf, do not queſtion,

* p. 9.

† p. 35.

ſtion, before I have done with him, but to convince the World of it too; but if this be poſſible, what an unhappy Conſequence does he neceſſarily faſten upon it? For then, ſays he, * *No body muſt any longer confide or be ſecure in his good Name; a Worm, a Maggot can demoliſh it in a trice, and the higheſt Reputation in Letters acquired by repeated Proofs, for the ſpace of above thirty Years, is in one Day to be blaſted by an Inſect.* * p. 10.

Here we ſee what it was that made him ſo *confident*, ſo *ſecure* of impoſing upon the World, *viz. his high Reputation in Letters*; this, he imagined, would have made us receive, with a ſlaviſh implicit Applauſe, whatever he had pleaſed to propound to us; he did not doubt, but *his ever-bearing Name* would oblige us to Charge rather upon *our own* Ignorance, than that of ſo *learned an Editor*; or would have terrified us at leaſt, from entring the Liſts with ſo *renowned and formidable a Champion*; it is this Aſſurance, we ſee, that a great part of his Reaſoning chiefly turns upon; *Have not I had the higheſt Reputation in Letters? How then can I want Talents or Materials? Has not my Life been ſpent in Critical Obſervations? How then can a crazy-headed Cenſor † pretend to teach me Latin?* This he reckons ſo concluſive, that it is the onely Anſwer he has given to the Charge of *Impropriety and falſe Latin*, which I had made to his *Title-page*; but he is not the onely Man † p. 10.

I could name, who has acquired *a Reputation in Learning* much ſuperior *to his Merit*, and has paſſed for a *wondrous Critick* in all the Languages, without being able to write *any one* of them with Taſte or Correctneſs.

In the Cloſe of his Introduction he charges me with having been *the Publiſher of ſeveral Libels written by Dr.* Colbatch *againſt the Ma-*
* p. 11. *ſter* *, *the College, and the very Government*; and yet I declare, that I never yet publiſhed any thing in my Life that was not ſtrictly and entirely of my own compoſing, nor any thing at all, that ever related to, or *reflected in any Manner upon the Government*; I did indeed in a late Pamphlet repreſent the *juſt Complaints of the Fellows of his College, (my old Friends and Fellow-Sufferers)* againſt his *oppreſſive Government*; for which he is now proſecuting me by way of *Information in the King's Bench*; but tho' he *flies to the Law* himſelf, as an *injur'd, libell'd* Perſon, yet he makes no Scruple, we ſee, *to libel me and others too* as much as he pleaſes, and with a Modeſty peculiar to himſelf *prejudges the very Cauſe* now depending, and *con-*
† p. 35. *demns me even* † *to the Pillory.*

And tho' he is pleaſed to reflect upon Dr.
‡ ibid. *Colbatch*, for having *left me* ‡ *in the Lurch*; I have yet the Satisfaction to aſſure him, that I am provided with ſuch *Affidavits* both from the *Doctor and ſeveral others*, as will be ſufficient, tho'

tho' not perhaps *to juſtify me to the Law (which I did not at all underſtand, nor ever deſigned to offend)* yet to *juſtify* me however to the World from the *leaſt Suſpicion* of my having done him any Injury.

Paragraph the Firſt.

The Author of this Edition, obſerving that the Printed Copies of the New Teſtament, both of the Original Greek and Antient vulgar Latin, were taken from Manuſcripts of no great Antiquity, ſuch as the firſt Editors could then procure; and that now by God's Providence there are MSS. in Europe, *(acceſſible, tho' with great Charge) above a thouſand Years old in both Languages; believes he may do good Service to common Chriſtianity, if he publiſhes a New Edition of the* Greek *and* Latin, *not according to the recent and interpolated Copies, but as repreſented in the moſt antient and venerable MSS. in Greek and Roman Capital Letters.*

REMARKS.

I ſhall not trouble the Reader with a long Repetition of what I have offered in my *Remarks* in Anſwer *to this Paragraph*; it will be ſufficient to inform him, that thinking it my Duty to vindicate in ſome Meaſure *the Authority of our printed Scripture, ſo roundly ſtruck at by our Editor*, and to defend the Characters of

our *former Editors*, from the *vile Inſinuations*, here thrown out upon them, I have ſhewn that ſeveral of them were Men of the *greateſt Learning and Abilities* for a Work of this Nature, that all the *Countries of Chriſtendom* could furniſh; and that they had all the Aſſiſtance and Encouragement in the Execution of it, which the Power and Munificence of *Princes*, *Popes* and *Cardinals* could ſupply them with; that they were ſo far from taking up, or being content with *ſuch Manuſcripts as they happened to have at hand*, or had *pick'd up by chance*, or ſuch as they could *eaſily and haſtily get together*; that it was the Buſineſs and Labour of their Lives to ſearch out every thing that was *curious* and *rare* in that Kind, or could be uſeful to their Purpoſe in any Part of the World; that we have Accounts of many Manuſcripts procured for their Service with great *Difficulty* and *Expence* from *different Regions*, *diſtant Countries*, *remote Iſlands*; that in Fact, *ſeveral of the Manuſcripts* they made uſe of, are allowed by all Judges to be as *antient and correct* as any now known in the World; that *their Editions* formed upon *theſe Manuſcripts* have, ever ſince their Publication, been highly valued and eſteemed by all Men of Senſe and Learning, as generally *accurate and correct*, and by none more than *our Editor himſelf*, when he had no *private Views* or *Intereſts* to ſerve by decrying them.

And now, can any thing be a more full or direct

direct Anſwer than this? He aſſures us, *that the Manuſcripts of our printed Copies of the New Teſtament are of no great Antiquity*; I have proved them *to be of the greateſt*; he ſays, *that there are now MSS. in* Europe, *acceſſible, tho' with great Charge, above a thouſand Years old*; and I have ſhewn, that *our Editors had actually Acceſs* to ſeveral of *that Age*; and that no longer ago than fourteen Years, *all the Copies* known and famous in *Europe* were collated *for the Uſe of Dr.* Mill; he ſays, *that his MSS. are written in Greek and Roman Capital Letters*; a certain Characteriſtic of true Antiquity; and juſt ſo, ſay I, *are ſeveral of the Copies* of every *other Editor* I have mentioned.

This, I thought, was ſufficient to prove the *Injuſtice* and *Barbarity* of his Treatment of all *former Editors*; Perſons to whom the *Chriſtian World* will always have the higheſt Obligation, and to whom no Man in it can be more particularly obliged *than himſelf*, if he is *ſincere* and *in earneſt* in the deſign of his Edition.

I ſhall proceed therefore to conſider what he has to ſay in Juſtification of himſelf, *in this Anſwer of his*, which I am now examining; all which when laid together is *in Subſtance* and *Effect* juſt what follows, *viz.*

That let us ſay what we will of *our prior Editors*, they are not however to be named with

the *mighty Bentley*; the Men might be paſſable enough for the *Age they lived in*, but we muſt not think to compare them to the *enlightened Criticks* of theſe Times, to the ὅιοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν. For the World is now grown *older and*
* p. 13. *wiſer*, * *has now advanc'd two whole Centuries in Age, ſince the Date of the* Complutenſian *and* Eraſmus's *Edition, and as much within thirty Years ſince that of* Rob. Stephens, that they,
† p. 26. poor Men, † did not know *how to uſe the very Manuſcripts they had in their Hands*; for *Ste-*
‡ p. 12. *phens was a meer* ‡ *Printer*; Mill *an ignorant*
§ p. 18, § *Blunderer*; and for *Cardinal* Ximenes's *Purſe*,
26, 33. ‖ *what's that to our Maſter? Four Millions of*
‖ p. 15. *Crowns would not buy the MSS. that he has collated for his Edition.*

And as for the Manuſcripts themſelves, which they made uſe of, he tells us, *the plain*
* p. 12. *Fact*; * *that older and better are now to be had, than former Editors could come at*; *that in thoſe*
† p. 13. *Days*, † *when no better were ſeen, they gave the Titles of Antient and Venerable to ſuch as are now ſcarce reckon'd in the ſecond or third Rate*; that
‡ p 33, the beſt Editor of them all ‡ *made uſe of ſuch*
34 *ſcrubb MSS. ſuch ſcoundril Copies, as our Maſter would ſcorn even to look into*; and that therefore upon the whole, conſidering the great *Abilities* and *Advantages* he is poſſeſſed of, above all who went before him; we muſt *be forced to own*
§ p. 11. *that* § *he has expreſſed himſelf in the modeſteſt, tendereſt, and moſt innocent Words in the World,*

with-

without the ſmalleſt Reproach or Reflection upon the prior Editors.

This is the Sum and Subſtance of our Maſter's Apology, and the Reader will excuſe me, I dare ſay, from giving him or my ſelf the Trouble of *a ſerious Anſwer* to it, or of adding any thing more to what I have ſaid *ſo fully* on this occaſion in my *Remarks*; however, ſince he inſiſts ſtill upon his Privilege, of trampling at pleaſure upon the *great and learned* Men of all Ages, he muſt excuſe me, if I examine likewiſe, with *no ſmall Freedom*, what Right and Title he has to aſſume *ſuch a Power* to himſelf, and what *Truth* and *Reality* there is in this Pretence of his to ſuch *ſuperior Talents* and *Materials:* But becauſe the Conſideration of his *Talents* may fall more properly under our Notice in ſome other Parts of *theſe Remarks*, I ſhall at preſent onely enquire into the *true ſtate of his Materials*, his *older and better Manuſcripts*, which he makes ſuch a Noiſe about.

The firſt Account I have met with *of his Manuſcripts* is in a *printed Letter of his*, upon the Subject of his Edition, *dated Trin. Coll. Jan.* 1. 1716-17, where we are informed by him, that he *makes uſe of no Manuſcripts, but thoſe of a thouſand Years old, or above; of which ſort he had got at that Time twenty together*

in

in his Study, which made up, one with another, twenty thouſand Years [*a*].

Now before we go any farther, if he will but condeſcend to prove the Truth of this *ſingle Fact*, and make it fairly appear to the World, that he ever was in Poſſeſſion of *ſuch a Number of Manuſcripts at once*, and *of ſuch Antiquity* as is here pretended, I promiſe to give up the Cauſe, and to own him as *accompliſhed an Editor as he pleaſes:* but I have ſeen ſo much of the Hiſtory and preſent State of the *Manuſcripts of the New Teſtament*, as to know it to be impoſſible for *any Man* or *any Library* to ſhew *ſo great a Number of ſuch old ones*, at any one time in their Poſſeſſion.

Mr. Martin *of* Utrecht, [*b*] ſpeaking upon the Subject of *this very Letter*, ſays, that *our Editor is not a little indebted to his good Fortune for having found twenty Manuſcripts well told, which are of a thouſand Years ago, or above; it being one of the moſt extraordinary Diſcoveries in this kind of Literature, that has been made in our Days.* And in another Place, *The Point will be*, ſays he, *whether theſe Manuſcripts lately diſcovered be really as old as Dr.* Bentley *takes*

[*a*] *Vid.* Two Letters to Dr. *Bentley*, and the Doctor's Anſwer, *Lond.* 1717.

[*b*] *Martin*'s Defence of his Diſſertation in *Engliſh*, p. 13. *it.* p. 16.

them

them to be; for we are not ignorant how difficult it is, not to ſay impoſſible, to paſs always in theſe Caſes a certain Judgment and ſecure from all Doubt.

Monſieur *Simon* in his *Critical Hiſtory of the New Teſtament* [a] gives us a pleaſant Account of *juſt ſuch an Editor as this of ours*, *Father* Amelote; who, in the *Preface of his* French *Tranſlation of the New Teſtament*, informs the World, *that he made an exact Search for all the Manuſcripts of Chriſtendom, of above a thouſand Years old, and had procured Collations of them all; that he had got above twenty out of* France; *all thoſe of the* Vatican, *and the famous Libraries of* Italy; *fifteen from* Spain, *without reckoning thoſe of Cardinal* Ximenes; *all thoſe of* England *and the Northern Countries*; *many from the heart of* Greece; *with thoſe that the Antient Fathers made uſe of.*

One would imagine, ſays Monſieur *Simon*, *upon reading this Paſſage, that this Father had at this Time in his Hands, all the Copies he ſpeaks of, or at leaſt the Collations of them*; *yet all this long Diſcourſe*, ſays he, *is but a mere flouriſh of Rhetorick*, [b] *to raiſe and ennoble the Subject he is*

[a] Tom. 1. p. 346.

[b] Mais tout ce long Diſcours n'eſt qu'une figure de Rhetorique, dont il ſe ſert pour, &c. Il ne fit point d'autre reponſe la deſſus a ſon Confrere, qui luy montra en

is treating of; for being adviſed by a Friend (who ſhewed him at the ſame time all his various Readings in Print) to leave out of his Preface, this ſtrange Rant about his Manuſcripts, he made no other Anſwer, than that the Argument he was handling, made it neceſſary for him to expreſs himſelf, after a noble ſublime manner, to make the ſtronger Impreſſion upon the Minds of his Readers.

And having Occaſion to mention *this ſame Editor* again in another Place, [*a*] he tells us, *that the great Number of Manuſcripts of twelve and thirteen hundred Years, which he pretended to have collected, exiſted onely in his Imagination,* and *that he could not be ſincere, becauſe he had not produced one ſingle various Reading, which had not been known and printed before in other Editions.*

The Caſe is juſt the ſame with *our Engliſh Amelote*, for when we come a little cloſer to him, *the twenty old Manuſcripts*, which he has juſt before given us an Account of, *ſhrink at once**.

* p. 13.

en meme tems ces diverſes leçons imprimees, ſi non que la matiere, dont il parloit, demandoit qu'il s'explicat d'une maniere noble, pour faire plus d'impreſſion dans l'eſprit, *&c. ibid.*

[*a*] Tom. 2. p. 370. Ce grand nombre de MSS. qu'il aſſure avoir douze & treize cens ans, n'ont etè que dans ſon imagination.

Il ne nous a donne aucunes diverſités de leçon, qui ne fuſſent déjà imprimees. *ibid.*

into

into Eight; and follow him ſtill a little farther, and he is forced again to own, that even *of theſe eight, there are onely four, which* † *had* † p. 14. *not been collated and made uſe of by Dr.* Mill.

And now we are come to a full Diſcovery of the whole Strength of our Editor, *viz. four Manuſcripts*; theſe are *all the Forces* he is Maſter of, to maintain *the War* he has declared againſt all *former Editors*; with *theſe four* it is, that he has promiſed to work ſuch Wonders; to produce the *very Teſtament read at the Council* [*a*] *of* Nice, and even to go a Century higher and *retrieve the very Exemplar of* Origen.

The whole Number of *Greek Manuſcripts of the Old and New Teſtament*, now known in *Europe*, amounts, as 'tis ſuppoſed, [*b*] to about *four hundred*; and there's hardly *one* amongſt them all, which has not been collated and made uſe of in ſome or other of our *printed Editions*; and yet by our *Maſter's bluſtering* one would imagine the Caſe to be *juſt the Reverſe* between *him* and the *former Editors*; and that *all of them* together had never ſeen *more* than *his four*; whilſt *he* was in Poſſeſſion *of their four hundred.*

Dr. *Kuſter* by a very diligent Search found out *twelve Manuſcripts*, which had eſcaped Dr.

[*a*] *Vid.* the two printed Letters. *&c.*

[*b*] *Vid.* Le Long Bibliotheca ſacra. *Paris.*

Mill's

Mill's Enquiry; and tho' he was willing enough to make *the beſt Penny* he could of them, yet all he could do, was to publiſh again Dr. *Mill's Teſtament* in *Holland*, with the *Additional Readings* he had gather'd; and he thought, I dare ſay, that he had diſpoſed of them to good Advantage.

But our Editor with no more than his *four Copies*, will be content with nothing leſs than a *new Original Edition of his own*, and ſuch an one too, as is to make all others whatſoever *uſeleſs* and *contemptible*; he ought however, methinks, to oblige *his Subſcribers* with a *more particular and ſatisfactory* Account of *the four Manuſcripts* he pretends to; whether, *tho' never uſed by Dr.* Mill, they were not ſtill *collated by Dr.* Kuſter; whether *any one of them*, or *all together*, *make out the whole New Teſtament*: 'Tis a great Rarity to find any *one of Value* which contains *above a*
* p. 34. *Part of it*, and *our Editor* tells us himſelf, * *that there are very few good ones, nay not ſo much as*
† p. 42. *one of any* † *Antiquity, beſides the* Alexandrine, *which comprehends the whole*; ſo that whenever he thinks fit to anſwer *theſe Queries*, his *little Stock* will probably *once more* be reduced *to half*, nay, he will be left, I am almoſt confident, with nothing more than *ſome piece onely of the New Teſtament in Manuſcript.*

But *his Copies*, I know, are like the *Sybil's Books*, while we *leſſen* their Number, we ſtill *enhance*

enhance their Value; and if we leave him but *one*, he will ſoon make it *as valuable* as all the reſt; leave him, I ſay, but *one*, to *ſet his Foot upon*, and *like another* Archimedes, *he will ſhake the Chriſtian World.*

And thus we have ſeen a fair Account and true Hiſtory *of his Manuſcripts*; how from *twenty*, they dwindled *to eight*; from *eight* to *four*; from *four* to——And is not this *Father Amelote* all over? and muſt not Envy itſelf confeſs, that *our Editor's Imagination* is full as lively; his *Rhetorick* as ſtrong as that of his *Reverend Brother.*

But he thinks it, we find, wondrous hard, that *Dr.* Mill *ſhould ſo oft be caſt in his Teeth**; and that he ſhould be charged with reflecting upon a Perſon *whom he had not ſo much as named in his Propoſals*: What *juſt and critical* Reaſoning is this? He has not abuſed *Dr.* Mill *in his Propoſals*, nor Dr. *Colbatch*, I warrant ye, in *this his Defence* of them, becauſe he has not mentioned ſo much as the *Name of either.* But is not the *Doctor's Edition* included in the *general Cenſure*, he has paſſed *upon all*, without Exception or Reſerve? Nay, is it not particularly *levelled at and deſcribed*, by *that*, which *gives ſuch Offence to good* † *Perſons, that, whoſe Pages are crowded with ſuch Numbers of various Readings?* However, he is very confident, that there can be no *Compariſon* between the *Doctor's Work*

* p. 41, 14.

† par. 3.

Work and his, they being *different* toto genere
* p. 14. *from each other* *, the Doctor's Ambition reached no higher than to give the *Text of Printer* Stephens; but he reſolves to preſent the World with *that of the famous Origen*; the Doctor's View was no more than to provide *a Promptuary for the Judicious*; but it is he who muſt apply this Promptuary to Uſe and Practice. Thus the *one* is but a *mere Collater*; *the other the Critic*; the *one* furniſhes *Tools*, but the *other* muſt find *the Uſe* of them.

But we need not wonder at his taking ſo much Liberty with *the Dead*, when 'tis common with him to make full *as free with the Living*; even Sir *Iſaac Newton* himſelf; whoſe great and admirable Diſcoveries in *Mathematicks* and *Natural Philoſophy* were, according to him, but *uſeleſs*, *empty* Speculations, of no Benefit or Service to Mankind, till he was pleaſed, as he has told us in Print, [*a*] *to diſcover to the World the unknown Uſe of them*, and to apply them, as he deſigns to do with Dr. *Mill*'s Promptuary, to the ſilencing of *Atheiſts*.

We have brought him, however, to ſpeak, with ſomewhat *more Modeſty* than before, of his
† p. 14. *intended Edition*; for he condeſcends † to own, that he will do Dr. *Mill* the Honour to make uſe of *his Collection*; and becauſe his main Ob-

[*a*] *Vid.* Dr. *Bentley*'s Letter to the Biſhop of *Ely*.

jection

jection to the *Doctor's Edition* ſeems now to be chiefly from the *Form* and *Manner of* it, from the *Management* and *Diſpoſition of the Materials*, I ſhall endeavour to ſet the Matter in ſuch a Light, as will make it eaſie for the Reader to determine the Controverſy; in order to which I ſhall deſire him to anſwer me two or three plain Queſtions.

Whether all the *various Readings* of the *New Teſtament* are not rather *curious* and *nice* Obſervations, than Diſcoveries of any *real Service to Chriſtianity*; and uſeful rather to the *Learned*, than the *Chriſtian* Reader? Whether all of them together *affect* or *alter* in any Manner any *Article of Faith*, or even *Moral Precept?* Whether in *Stephens's Edition* we have not the *full* and *adequate* Senſe of the *ſacred Text* in all Points even of the *leaſt Importance?* Whether a correct and juſt Tranſlation of *that Edition* would not be ſufficient for the People to all *Intents* and *Purpoſes of Religion?*

If *theſe Queries* be anſwered in the *Affirmative*, as I am certain they muſt, and as *he himſelf has already done*; I ſhall take the Liberty to aſſert and maintain that Dr. *Mill's* Edition (as it exhibits *Stephens's Text*, with all the known *various Readings* under it) is for the very *Form* and *Manner* of it more *uſefully* and *judiciouſly* contrived for the Service of the *Learned* or even *Chri-*

ſtian World, than any other which *our Editor* can pretend to give us.

Is it not the ſame thing to the Reader, conſidered as a *Scholar*, whether he finds the *true Readings* with *their Authorities* at the *Top* or *Bottom* of the Page? inſerted in the *Text*, or placed in the *Margin?* Cannot he aſſert and apply them with the ſame Force in all *Critical Controverſies?* Is not *the Text* made as *clear* and *certain* by them, in the one way as the other?

Dr. *Mill* believed, that [*a*] he had mended *Stephens's Text* in *two thouſand* Places; he believed likewiſe, that he had *retrieved moſt of the true Readings of the Old Vulgate, with the very Greek from whence they were taken*; yet he never imagined, that his *Emendations* would loſe any of their *Force* or *Merit* by being placed with his Notes at the *Bottom of the Page:* He knew, that however *probable any Readings* might appear to him, they were not however *demonſtrable*, and what *one Man* might look upon to be *Genuine*, *another* would ſtill argue to be *Spurious*; and that the making ſo *many Alterations in the Text* would give *Offence* to many, do *Service* to none, and occaſion onely *perpetual Diſputes* about Trifles.

[*a*] *Vid.* Mill. Prolegom. it. vid. p. 41.

Thus

Thus for inſtance, if Dr. *Mill* had inſerted his two *thouſand Alterations* into *the Text*, we ſhall find preſently that *our Editor* was actually prepared and reſolved to have *fetch'd them down again*, and reſtored them to *the Place* from whence they were taken; and what would have been the Conſequence? Why, *his own Emendations*, when advanced in their ſtead, would have found no better Fate; for as little as I pretend to *Criticiſm*, I would undertake to *throw out* a great Part of them my ſelf, as we ſhall ſee by and by, when we come to *his Specimen*; and thus after much Squabble and Wrangling, we ſhould find our ſelves at laſt juſt where we firſt ſet out, ſettling again perhaps in the old *Text of Stephens*. ** p. 33.

But Dr. *Mill*, he tells us, † *follows this ſame Text of* Stephens *to a Letter, even where he decides againſt it*; what, *decide for* and *againſt it* at the ſame time? This, he thought, muſt needs make the Reader exclaim at the *Doctor's great Stupidity*; and yet the caſe is no more than this: The *Doctor's Deſign* in his Edition was to exhibit *Stephens's very Text* moſt punctually, without *any the leaſt* Variation from it; to this he ſubjoins all the *various Readings*, with ſome *Critical Notes* occaſionally giving us his Judgment upon the *ſaid Text*. In many Places, it ſeems, he *decides* againſt it; but how then does he *follow it at the ſame time?* Or how is it poſſi- † p. 14.

ble to do *both* in the ſame inſtance? So that this *Jumble of Words*, deſigned as a Reflection on the Doctor, proves to be a meer *Piece of Jargon*, and *Nonſenſe* of our *Editor*'s own.

I am far from believing Dr. *Mill* to have been infallible, or *his Edition* without *Faults*; being perſuaded, that no Man in the World ever yet executed a Deſign *ſo laborious and extenſive* without committing *many*; but as they bear no Proportion to the *juſt Merit* of his Performance, they may and ought to be forgiven. If the Doctor indeed, in his *large Prolegomena*, had given as many *ſolid Proofs of Ignorance*, as *our Editor* in the *Half-ſheet of his Propoſals*; or if, in any *whole Book of the New Teſtament*, he had made as *many Blunders*, and ſuffered as *much Incorrectneſs*, as *our Editor* has in the *ſingle Chapter of his Specimen*, I am ſatisfied, that Men of Letters would never have endured *his Edition*.

Since I have had Occaſion to ſay ſo much here of Dr. *Mill*, it may be proper to bring together, under *one View*, whatever relates to him in the preſent Controverſy; and to take notice once for all of the *ſcurrilous* and *inhuman* Treatment which *our Editor* has thought fit to ſhew to his *worthy deceaſed Friend*.

He had formerly much *courted* and *careſſed this Gentleman*, and for the *Credit of his Friend-*

ſhip

ſhip and his *Countenance*, had paid him *very extraordinary Compliments in his Life-time:* In a printed Letter to him, he ſays, [*a*] *That he was the moſt experienc'd of all Men living in the Knowledge and Study of Manuſcripts; that in collecting Materials for his Edition, he had nicely and curiouſly examined all the Writings of the Fathers, all the antient Verſions, and an infinite Number of Manuſcripts*; that *his Edition would be an Ornament to his Country, and a Safeguard to the Church*; and that *whoever purchaſed it might fancy himſelf in a manner turning over and reading the very Originals*; nay, ſince his Death, before he had any *particular Intereſt* in undervaluing him, he has done him the Juſtice to ſpeak of him in much the *ſame ſtrain*, and declared [*b*] that his *Friendſhip and Memory would ever be dear to him.*

Yet now there is hardly a Paragraph in this Book of his, without ſome *ſpiteful, ſevere Re-*

[*a*] Tu vero, Milli doctiſſime, qui omnium mortalium maxime in eo ſtudio verſatus es.

Quippè etenim ad eam copiam comparandum omnia S. Patrum ſcripta, omnes antiquas verſiones, & infinitam vim Codd. MSS. curiosè excuſſiſti. Ea res Britanniæ noſtræ ſplendori erit & Eccleſiæ præſidio.

Adeo ut qui tuam Editionem ſibi comparaverit, ipſa illa propemodum Archetypa verſare manibus, atque oculis uſurpare videatur. Vid. Jo. Malalæ Hiſt. per Jo. Millium, una cum Epiſt. Rich. Bentleii.

[*b*] Remarks on Freethink. part 1. p. 61.

flection upon his *Merit* and *Character*; but in *his thirty-third Page* he labours more eſpecially to overthrow *all his Credit*, with *three* particular Inſtances of his *great Weakneſs* and *want of Judgment*.

The firſt is from *the Uſe he makes of ſcrub Manuſcripts and ſcoundrel Copies*; for having *deſcribed a Manuſcript*, ſays he, *to be, not Vellum, but Paper, and of a recent Hand, yet this worthy one has eleven of his true Readings; and ſo he deals with the reſt.*

But let us here aſk *our Editor*, whether *all Criticks* are not agreed, that *recent Manuſcripts* are not to be neglected in a Work of this Nature, and that they may ſometimes afford *probable* or *genuine Readings* which have not been met with before, as well as give farther Light and Confirmation to thoſe that have. This he himſelf has declared to be true in Fact as *to the Manuſcripts of* Terence; *the oldeſt and beſt Copy of him*, ſays he, [*a*] *is now in the Vatican Library, which comes neareſt to the Poet's own Hand, but even that has hundreds of Errors, moſt of which may be mended out of other Exemplars, which are otherwiſe more recent, and of inferior Value.*

It is very poſſible, and certainly true in ſome

[*a*] Ibid. p. 64.

Inſtances,

Inſtances, that *Manuſcripts of Modern Date* may have been copied from others very *antient and correct*, which have afterwards been loſt; the Doctor's Deſign led him to examine *all the Manuſcripts* he could come at, both *Old* and *New*, he gave their *due Weight* and *Preference* to the *older* and *better*, and has in Fact collected the *Readings* of all the moſt *antient* and *valuable ones* then known in the World. How ſilly is then the Objection that out of *two thouſand Readings* which he preferred to the common ones, he has pick'd *eleven out of a recent Manuſcript?* It can deſerve onely to be laughed at, and diſcovers much more the *Malice of our Editor*, than any *Ignorance in the Doctor*.

The other *two* Inſtances of the *Doctor's want of Judgment* I ſhall give likewiſe *in his own Words: He has*, ſays he, † *two Characteriſtics to judge by* (*as any one that will peruſe his* Prolegomena *will ſee*) *Omiſſions and Soleciſms. If a Word or Words are omitted in any Copies, out they muſt go, as Interpolations; theſe make fifteen hundred at leaſt out of his two thouſand. And what is very extraordinary, the more Significancy, the more Importance the omitted Words have, the more confident he is, that they are ſpurious and interpolated; and for this ſpecious Reaſon,* Quis ſanus tam inſigne verbum omiſerit, præterierit, expunxerit? *What Copyiſt in his Wits would leave out ſo conſiderable a Word, if he found it in the Exemplar that he tranſcribed? One may ſay,* Quis

† P. 33, 34.

ſanus *could argue at this Rate? Is a Word ſo conducing to the Clearneſs, Grace, and Beauty of the Sentence (as the Doctor often allows) and confirm'd by the oldeſt Copies and Verſions to be caſt out of the Text, becauſe one drunken or drowſy Stationer's Boy happened to omit it? God forbid; and yet this is his perpetual Manner. The other is Soleciſm, which decides the Remainder of his Genuine Readings: If in a few, or in one Manuſcript, there's a Reading that makes an* ἀνακόλουθον, *an Abſurdity, a Barbariſm, he ſeldom fails to warrant it for true. In ſhort, in his Scheme, whatever appears bright and elegant, (if one Copy does but fail in it) is an Emendation of ſome Copyiſt: whatever appears impolite, idiotic, abſurd, (if the moſt ſcoundrel Copy countenances it) is* manus Apoſtoli.

This is *the Charge* which he has brought againſt Dr. *Mill*; and if we allow for the *Extravagance*, the *Partiality* and the *falſe Colours* with which it is drawn, every Body will eaſily ſee, that the *Doctor is much in the right*, and that *his Notions*, tho' capable of being ſtrained and carried too far, are in general *juſt* and *true*; and *theſe very Rules*, tho' like all others, not *without Exception*, are certainly *good* and *proper* to be obſerved by *an Editor of the New Teſtament*.

Let us conſider then *the firſt of theſe Characteriſtics*; and ſince *our Editor* has not thought fit

fit to try the Merit of it by any *particular* Inſtances or Examples of *falſe Readings*, which have been put upon us by it, we can onely conſider it *abſtractedly* and in *general*, without taking in the Circumſtances of *older* or *better Manuſcripts* on one ſide or the other. Suppoſe then that *ſome Copies* exhibit a Word of *great Significancy*, to clear and determine the Senſe of a Paſſage, otherwiſe *dark* and *obſcure*; and that *other Copies* are ſtill found to be without *this Word*; the Queſtion is, how we are to determine the *genuine Reading?* Dr. *Mill* ſays, that the *Word is ſpurious*, and does not belong *to the Text*; *our Editor* affirms the contrary, and reaſons thus; *Is a Word ſo conducing to the Clearneſs, Grace and Beauty of the Sentence (as the Doctor often allows) to be caſt out of the Text, becauſe a drunken, drowzy Stationer's Boy happen'd to omit it? God forbid.*

But will not this Reaſoning ſerve to defend almoſt *all Interpolations* whatſoever? And yet is it not allowed, that there are a great many of them in the Scriptures, and that they are much more numerous than the *Omiſſions?* Our Editor ſays, that in *the Chapter* of his *Specimen*, he has made *fifty-two Emendations*; that is, he has taken *fifty-two various Readings* from the Bottom of Dr. *Mill's Page*, and removed them into *the Text*; yet of theſe *fifty-two Alterations*, a great Part are made according to *this very Rule of Omiſſions*, ſeveral of them ſupported by the Authority

thority onely *of a ſingle Manuſcript*; for Example, Καθαρὸν πόλεμον, *ver.* 1.] *omittunt* καθαρὸν, *Alex. Codd. Anglici duo Gallici tres*, &c. Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τὸ Αλφα, *ver.* 13.] *omittunt* εἰμὶ, *Alex. Athanaſius Codd. fere omnes*; *Andreas, Arethas. Sed Origines habet* εἰμὶ *bis.* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *ver.* 21.] *omittit Alex.* And again in the ſame Verſe, Μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν Ἀμὴν] *omittit* ἡμῶν Ἀμὴν *Alex.* He has already, we know, determined *againſt the Genuineneſs of the famous paſſage of St.* John 1 Epiſt. v. 7. *a Reading*, by far the *moſt important of all the thirty thouſand*; ſupported by *good Authorities*, and conſonant and agreeable to the *Doctrine of the Apoſtle:* For what Reaſon then has he *condemned it as ſpurious?* Why becauſe *ſome Manuſcripts and ſome Fathers* have *omitted* it. And this ſure is carrying the *Rule of Omiſſions* much farther than
† p. 42. Dr. *Mill himſelf*, tho' it was, he tells us, † *his peculiar Foible:* For *the Doctor* happens here to be *on the other ſide* of the Queſtion, and in *this Inſtance* has declared, even againſt *his favourite Rule*, for *the common Reading* of our printed Copies.

And now will not *his own Argument* turn *much more forcibly* againſt himſelf? *Are Words ſo ſignificant, ſo important, ſo conducing to the Clearneſs and Beauty of the Sentence to be caſt out of the Text, becauſe a drunken or drowzy Stationer's Boy happened to omit them? God forbid*; and *yet this is his perpetual Manner.*

But

But let us now hear a little on the other hand, what *the Doctor* has to alledge *in defence of his Rule*. Why he ſays, that it is more probable, that a *Tranſcriber* would chuſe rather to *clear* up an *obſcure Paſſage*, by the inſertion of an *explanatory, ſignificant* Word, than to *darken* and *confound a clear one*, by *omitting* or *expunging ſuch a Word*; and he would defend himſelf by ſhewing, that it is in the *perplexed* and *dubious Paſſages of Scripture*, that *Interpolations* are generally found; that *moſt Interpolations of the Text* were derived originally from the *Margin*, where it was uſual to place *Words or Sentences of plain and obvious Senſe*, to explain ſuch as were *more difficult in the Text*; that theſe by degrees crept into *the Text itſelf*; the *Tranſcribers* thinking they did no harm, by making it more intelligible; and that this was the common Practice of the Copyers of St. *Jerom's Days*, who ſays, [*a*] *that they were uſed to write, not what they found, but what they underſtood*; and that this is not *meer Conjecture* or *Speculation*, but what all, who are converſant *in Manuſcripts*, will find confirmed and demonſtrated by Fact and Experiment; and this I take to be a ſufficient Juſtification in general of Dr. *Mill's firſt Rule of Criticiſm*, viz. that *of Omiſſions*.

[*a*] Librariorumque incuriæ, qui ſcribunt non quod inveniunt, ſed quod intelligunt; & dum alienos errores emendare nituntur, offendunt ſuos, Hier. ad Lucin. Tom. 4. p. 578.

Let

Let us now proceed to examine *the ſecond*; which *our Editor* calls *that of Soleciſm*; and here he thinks he has done the *Doctor's Buſineſs*; has painted him *to the Life*, and has ſaid enough to make him juſtly *odious* to all good *Chriſtians*. What is the *Style of Scripture ſo baſe, vulgar, idiotic*, ſo *full of Barbariſms, Soleciſms*, and *Abſurdities*, as Dr. *Mill* pretends? *God forbid.* Nothing ſure but what is *bright, elegant* and *polite, could come from the Hand of an Apoſtle.* Here we ſee *two contrary* Judgments paſſed upon the *Style* and *Language* of *the ſacred Penmen, by Dr. Mill*, and *our Editor*; and the Reader by determining which of them is the *true one*, may in ſome Meaſure decide at the ſame time the *main Point* in Queſtion, about *our Editor's Talents* for the Work he has undertaken, and how far he is qualified to give us an *Edition of the New Teſtament.*

St. *Paul* tells us, *that he was ſent by Chriſt to preach the Goſpel*, [*a*] *not with Wiſdom of Words*; nor *with Excellency of Speech*; nor with *enticing Words of Man's Wiſdom:* And leſt *our Editor* ſhould ſay, that theſe diſabling Expreſſions are but *Strains of Humility*, uſual with and becoming *the Apoſtle*; his *Friend St. Jerom* has told us [*b*]

[*a*] 1 *Cor.* i. 17. ii. 1, 4.

[*b*] Nequaquam Paulum de humilitate, ſed de conſcientiæ veritate dixiſſe, etiam nunc approbamus. Hier. ad Algas.

quite

quite the contrary; *that it was not any Humility in St.* Paul, *but a Conſcientiouſneſs of the Truth, which drew from him theſe Declarations*; and *he ſhews* [*a*] *it to have been with the Apoſtles, in this Caſe, juſt as with all other Men, and that they diſcover in their Writings the Idioms and Phraſes peculiar to their native Country and Language*: He warns us often [*b*] *not to be offended at the Simplicity or Lowneſs of the Scripture-Style*; for he tells us, [*c*] *that the want of Elegance in the Words of the ſacred Writers was ſufficiently made up by the forcible Eloquence of their Sanctity, and the Loftineſs of their Thoughts and Sentiments.*

The *Antient Greek Fathers*, who are certainly the beſt Judges of the *Greek Style* of the Scriptures, are intirely of the *ſame* Opinion. The *firſt Chriſtian Critick, Origen*, makes no Scruple to declare his Judgment on this Occaſion with as *much Freedom*, and in *much the ſame Terms* with Dr. *Mill himſelf*. The *Diſciples of Chriſt*, ſays he, [*d*] *renounced all artful Compoſition of*

[*a*] Multa ſunt verba, quibus juxta morem urbis & provinciæ ſuæ familiariùs Apoſtolus utitur—Nec hoc miremur in Apoſtolo, ſi utatur ejus linguæ conſuetudine, in qua natus eſt & nutritus. Ibid.

[*b*] Nolo offendaris in ſcripturis ſanctis ſimplicitate & quaſi vilitate verborum, *&c.* Hier. Epiſt. 2. ad Paulum.

[*c*] Loquendi ſimplicitatem excuſabat ſanctimoniæ magnitudo. Hier. ad Pamm. de opt.

[*d*] Οἱ τῦ Ιησῦ μαθηταὶ οἱ μακρὰν χαίρειν εἰπόντες τῇ ποικίλῃ τῶν λέξεων συνθέσει καὶ τῇ ὡς ὠμάσιν ἡ γραφὴ, σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων. Orig. contr. Celſ.

Words,

Words, and *what the Scripture calls the Wiſdom of Men: And Divine Providence accommodated* [a] *the Language of Scripture, not to the Learned among the* Greeks, *but to the Idiotiſm of the Multitude.* And again, [b] *the Apoſtles, being conſcious of their Imperfection this Way, called themſelves Idiots in Speech, but not in Knowledge.*

St. *Chryſoſtom* ſtill goes farther, and ſpeaks *more freely* upon this Subject; *When the* Greeks, ſays he, [c] *accuſe the Diſciples (as Idiots)* that is, *illiterate,* let *us join with them,* and *accuſe them on this account more freely even than they*; and *he laughs at the* [d] *Simplicity of a zealous Chriſtian, who, in a Diſpute with a* Greek, *laboured to prove St.* Paul *to be more eloquent than* Plato; and *leſt we ſhould make our ſelves ridiculous in ſuch Diſputes,* he bids us [e] *freely own the Apoſtles to*

[a] Οὕτως ἡ προνομένη θεία φύσις τῶν πεπαιδεῦσθαι νομιζομένων μόνον τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἑλλήνων, συγκαλέσῃ τῇ ἰδιωτείᾳ τὸ πλῆθος. Ibid.

[b] Οὐκ ἀσυναίσθητοι οἱ ἀπόστολοι τυγχάνοντες τῶν ἐν οἷς προσκόπτουσι, φασὶν ἰδιῶται εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γνώσει. Orig. Philoc. c. 4.

[c] Ὅταν οὖν Ἕλληνες καταγορεύσωσι τῶν μαθητῶν ὡς ἰδιωτῶν, πλέον ἡμεῖς ἐκείνων κατηγορήσομεν αὐτῶν. Chryſ. Hom. 3. in 1. Cor. 1.

[d] περὶ Παύλου καὶ Πλάτωνος ζητήσεως οὔσης, ὁ δὲ χρυσίαν ὑπ' ὠφελείας ἐσπούδαζε κατασκευάζειν ὅτι Πλάτωνος λογιώτερος ἦν ὁ Παῦλος. Ibid.

[e] Ἵν' οὖν μὴ καταγελώμεθα, καταγορῶμεν ἀποστόλων ὡς ἀμαθῶν, ἡ γὰρ κατηγορία αὐτὴ ἐγκώμιον. Ibid.

be ignorant and unlearned, ſuch an Accuſation being not any Reflection upon them, but their Praiſe and Glory.

After theſe Authorities, I need not trouble myſelf with producing any Opinions *of the Moderns*; but whenever *our Editor* thinks fit to diſpute this Point more fully or particularly, I will undertake to defend the Judgment of *theſe Fathers* and Dr. *Mill* by undeniable Inſtances, and ſhew the *Style of Scripture* to be ſo little agreeable to the *Purity of the Greek Language*, that whenever the *Doctor's Soleciſms, Hebraiſms*, or *Idiotic Phraſes*, ſtand in Competition for a Place *in the Text*, with our *Editor's bright, elegant, polite Expreſſions*; every *judicious Reader* will think it wiſeſt and ſafeſt to *agree with the Doctor*, in giving a general Preference to *the former*.

After all this *Scurrility* and *Contempt* thrown out ſo plentifully upon *the Doctor*, he comes off very calmly and ſmoothly at laſt, by charging *me* with being the Occaſion of it; declaring, * that * p. 34. *I made it neceſſary for him, againſt his own Inclination, to deal ſo freely with the Doctor*; which is ſuch a *Reflection* upon me, as I cannot help clearing my ſelf of, before I diſmiſs this Subject.

I have always had a very great Honour and Reſpect for Dr. *Mill's Memory*, and was ſo far from

from deſigning to force *our Editor* to uſe him ill, that I was taking all the Pains I could, to make it *neceſſary* for him to *commend him.* I put him in mind of the *old Friendſhip and Intimacy* that had been *between them*; and did not this make it *neceſſary* to *commend him* when *dead*, whom he had profeſſed *ſuch a Love and Value for* when *living?* I ſhewed how much he muſt needs be obliged to him *in the Work*, he had undertaken; and did not this make it *neceſſary* to own the Obligation, and *commend his Benefactor?* I ſhew'd *the Doctor* to be a moſt *induſtrious, learned and judicious Editor of the New Teſtament*; and did not this make it *neceſſary* for a *Scholar*, a *Chriſtian*, a *Clergyman to commend him?* How then could I make it *neceſſary* to treat him *ſcurrilouſly* in any other poſſible Senſe, than as it is *neceſſary* for an *envious Critick* to *rail* at all who are *commended*; for a *proud Man* to *inſult* thoſe whom he is *moſt obliged* to; for a *Mercenary Writer* to *undervalue* every thing, that ſtands in the Way of his *Gain and his Intereſt?*

Paragraph the Second.

The Author, revolving in his Mind ſome Paſſages of St. Hierom; *where he declares, that (without making a New Verſion) he adjuſted and reform'd the whole* Latin Vulgate to the beſt Greek Exemplars, *that is, to thoſe of the famous* Origen; *and another Paſſage, where he ſays, that a Verbal or Literal Interpretation out of* Greek *into* Latin

Latin *is not neceſſary*, Except in the Holy Scriptures, *Ubi ipſe verborum ordo myſterium eſt*, Where the very Order of the Words is a Myſtery; *took thence the Hint, that if the Oldeſt Copies of the Original* Greek *and* Hierom's Latin *were examin'd and compared together, perhaps they would be ſtill found to agree both in Words and Order of Words. And upon making the Eſſay, he has ſucceeded in his Conjecture, beyond his Expectation or even his Hopes.*

REMARKS.

In *my Remarks on this Paragraph*, I had obſerved, that of the *two Paſſages* produced here from St. *Jerom*, as the *Reaſon* and *Foundation* of this intended *Edition*, *the firſt* was not to be found in any Part of *that Father's Writings*, in *direct* and *expreſs* Terms, and that the *ſecond* had been *altered* and *miſrepreſented by our Editor*, to make it *more applicable and full* to his Purpoſe. In Anſwer to my *firſt Obſervation*, he has by a Number of *Citations*, and a *Diſſertation* upon the Word *Evangelia*, * (proving what every body knew before) ſhewn at laſt that he did not at all apprehend *the Queſtion* I propoſed to him. I ſaid that St. *Jerom* had not in any *one ſingle Paſſage*, as he would make us believe, aſſerted, that he reformed *the whole Latin Vulgate*: and now how does he ſhew the contrary? Why, by labouring to prove, *conſequentially* and by Inference from *ſcatter'd Paſſages*, what I denied one-

* p. 17.

ly to be found *directly in any ſingle one*; and yet all that he has collected amounts to no more than what I have already owned; that St. *Je-*
* p. 16. *rom reformed* * *the Latin Vulgate of the New Teſtament*; but there was likewiſe *a Vulgate Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament* as well as *the New*, and *the whole Latin Vulgate*, which he talks of, muſt needs be underſtood to comprehend *them both*. He might therefore full as well have been contented with my *having al-*
† p. 19. *lowed* him, as he ſays, † all that he wanted or expected; rather than to have uſher'd in the moſt *important* Argument of the Controverſy, with an Introduction ſo little to the purpoſe; but he will not, it ſeems, accept any Conceſſion from ſo *ſilly an Adverſary*; for when I thought to have pleas'd him, by owning, that St. *Jerom* had reformed the *Vulgate Latin* according to the *beſt Greek Copies* of his Time; he proves,
‡ p. 17. that they were not the *beſt Copies of his Time*, ‡ but *old ones, and conſequently before his Time*; as if *the beſt* at any time were not always the *oldeſt* then known; this, to uſe *a Phraſe of his own*, is ſuch *capital, tranſcendent* Reaſoning, as I muſt own my ſelf at a loſs how to anſwer.

But he will needs force me into a Conſpiracy
§ p. 18. with Dr. *Mill in order to abuſe* § *poor St.* Jerom, becauſe I have ſaid of him, that he made no *very great Alteration* in his *Reform of the Vulgate*; and yet I ſaid no more than what I proved from *his own Words*. But if this be a Reflection,

Reflection, what will he ſay to me, if I undertake to ſhew, that of *the Alterations*, which he actually made, *ſome* might much better have been ſpared; the *old Tranſlation* being *juſter* and *truer* in ſeveral Places than *his Corrections?*

But after all this Noiſe about the *old Vulgate*, or, as many have called it, *the Italick Verſion*; the World, it ſeems, is yet entirely in the dark about it; for when *our Maſter's Edition comes* out, it will ſhew that there *never was any ſuch Verſion in Being*, as the * *Learned*, and Dr. *Mill eſpecially*, have ſo long been *blundering about*; and that the Notion was *falſly grounded* upon an *abuſed* and *miſtaken Paſſage of St.* Auſtin; which our Editor will ſet in a *true* and *new Light:* But we muſt not expect ſo great a Diſcovery in haſte; for till he has made all the Uſe he can of St. *Jerom's reforming the old Vulgate*, it will hardly be worth while to prove that there never was *any old Vulgate at all*; but for all the *new* and *true Light* he has got in this Matter, I will promiſe to ſhew whenever he calls upon me, that among thoſe *innumerable Verſions*, he ſpeaks of, which ‡ appeared in *the Weſtern World*, *before St.* Jerom's *Time*, there was however a *particular* and *principal one*, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by *its Uſe* and *Credit in the Church*, under the Name of the *Old*, the *Common*, the *Vulgate*, or, as *he himſelf* [*a*] has called it, the

* p. 18, 26.

† p. 43.

‡ p. 26.

[*a*] Rem. of Freethink. p. 81.

Italic. He may now perhaps be out of humour *with ſome* one of theſe Names, and diſpute, if he pleaſes, *about Words*, but I defie him to prove, that there was not ſuch a *particular Verſion*, as I have here deſcribed.

We are now come once more to the Examination of his *ſecond Paſſage*, viz. *Ubi ipſe verborum ordo Myſterium eſt*, on which he ſays, I
* p. 18. have *ſweated* and *laboured* * *ſo hard in my Remarks, for three whole Pages together*; but he gives me however the Pleaſure of finding, that it was not *Labour in vain*; ſince my *three Pages* have coſt him above *twice the Number* to *contrive an Anſwer* to them. My *firſt Remark* here was, that he had not *dealt fairly* either with *us or St. Jerom*, in his *Quotation* of this Sentence; which I found in the *Words of the Author* to be thus: *Ubi & verborum ordo & Myſterium eſt.* In a Paſſage of *ſuch Moment*, on which ſo much Streſs was laid, and ſo great a Deſign was built, the World had a Right to expect the *utmoſt Exactneſs of Citation*, and the *very Words of the Original.* There can be no other Reaſon for *miſquoting any Author*, but either *too much Art*, or *too much Negligence*; either of which will make but a wretched Apology for *an Editor of the New Teſtament*; where *Diligence* and *Fidelity* are Qualifications of ſuch abſolute Neceſſity. A Critick who can allow himſelf in *ſuch Emendations* as theſe may well deſpiſe an Adver-
‡ p. 19. ſary who † never made one in his Life; for he

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is ſure enough to have an Advantage over him: But *as our Editor* has always been very notable at an Excuſe, from the great Uſe and Exerciſe of his Invention that Way; he is pleaſed here to give us *twe Reaſons* for this Inaccuracy, *viz. great Haſte* and *Candle-light* *.* p. 19. *The Propoſals*, it ſeems, *were drawn up in ſuch a Hurry*, and the Publication of them required *ſuch Diſpatch*, that he had not ſo much Time as even to *conſult his Books, or correct the Preſs*; but being forced *to truſt his Memory* for *the Citation*, chanced to make *the little ſlip* we complain of. But is it not ſtrange, that after having been *revolving* and *tumbling* about in his Mind *one poor Sentence* for above *four Years* together, *his Memory* ſhould happen to fail him juſt in *the Nick*, when he came to the *very Uſe* and *Application* of what he had *ſo long* been thinking of? but is it not ſtill ſtranger, that after having been writing and talking *ſo long*, with ſuch *Calmneſs* and *Deliberation* on this Subject, he ſhould be on a ſudden in *ſuch a Hurry* about it, as if no Time, but *one critical Moment*, could poſſibly ſerve for the *printing his Propoſals?* He, *good Man*, was all *on fire* and *impatient* to do this publick Service to his Country, and had made a *Vow* perhaps never *to cloſe his Eyes* till he had made ſome Progreſs in ſo *pious a Deſign*; but the World happens to know him too well, to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon; if *his Motives* had been really ſuch as he pretends, there could not have been any Occaſion for an

Excuſe of this Kind: A *true Reverence for Chriſtianity, a Zeal for the Intereſts of Religion,* would neceſſarily have forbid *all haſte*; would not have ſuffered the *leaſt Hurry*; would have obliged him to the *utmoſt Caution*, in a Work ſo *ſerious* and *important*. He here plainly diſcovers what I hinted at in *my Remarks*, that *his Propoſals were haſtened out to ſerve quite different Ends*, than *thoſe of common Chriſtianity*. It was neceſſary for his Circumſtances, that *ſome Noiſe* ſhould be made in the World *in his Favour*; ſomething muſt needs be done to ſupport *a declining Character*; ſomething *great* and *popular* muſt, in Appearance at leaſt, be undertaken, to recover *Eſteem* and *Applauſe* to himſelf, and caſt an *Odium* and *Contempt* upon *his Proſecutors*; and withal perhaps to demoliſh me the more effectually for having *libell'd a Perſon* ſo highly deſerving of the Publick; ſo greatly and uſefully employed in the *Service of Chriſtendom*.

As for his *Candle-light*; I am not ſubtle enough to find out what Uſe he can poſſibly make of it. Among *the Greeks* and *Romans* it was ſo far from being *an Excuſe* for *the Blunders*, or *Inaccuracy of a Compoſition*, that *to ſmell of the Lamp or Candle* was their *common Phraſe*, to expreſs an *over-laboured, affected Correctneſs*; but *our Critick's Lucubrations* are *the Reverſe*, we ſee, to thoſe of all *other Authors*; *and his ill-fated Lamp*, like ſome *malignant Planet*, ſpreads *Drowzineſs, Oſcitancy*, and *Stupour around it*.

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Pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ, Juv.

The beſt Anſwer I can give him, is to return upon him *his own Words*, * *That no Scribler even out of the dark ever committed ſuch Stuff to Paper.* * p. 24.

But this, he will ſay perhaps, was propoſed chiefly as *an Excuſe* for the *falſe Pointing*, *Accenting*, and other ſmall Miſtakes of his *Specimen*; and ſhould we allow it, yet even this will not much mend the Matter; for *Blunders*, like *Sins*, are ſome of *Ignorance*, and ſome of *Omiſſion*; and tho' *Haſte* or *Candle-light* may in ſome Meaſure *excuſe the latter*; yet both together cannot in any Manner apologize for the *former*; it is not for *Points* and *Accents* left out, or *little Omiſſions in his Notes*, that we complain of *his Specimen*; but that all the *Rules of Accents* are directly *violated* by a *contrary Application* of them; and there are ſuch *Soleciſms* and *Barbariſms of Style*, as are offenſive to every Reader; and theſe will appear juſt the ſame *what Light ſoever* we write or read them by; *Errors of Judgment* having no more Relation to *Candle-light*, than thoſe of the *Memory*.

But ſhould this ſerve even as an Excuſe for the *firſt Edition of his Propoſals*, yet how is it at all applicable *to his ſecond?* Was this likewiſe drawn up in *ſuch haſte*, and prepared by *Candle-*

light? Yet it was in all Points juſt the *very ſame* with the other, except in the Change of one of his *Emendations*, by reſtoring [ἐπ' αὐ]τὸν] to the Text [*v.* 18.] which he had thrown out before, upon the Credit of a *ſingle Manuſcript*. In his *third Edition* indeed, upon the Notice I had taken of his *many Blunders*, he has thought fit to alter *his Style*, and to change the *many Barbariſms of his Notes*, into a Language more regular and intelligible, *viz.* inſtead of his *deeſt δὲ Alex. cæteri ferè omnes:* [*v.* 15.] *deeſt Articulus ὁ Alex. alii multi:* [ibid.] *deeſt καὶ Alex. Codd. ferè omnes: ordine ut Andreas:* [*v.* 13.] he has now put *omittunt Codices*, or *deeſt in Codicibus*; and *ordine quo Andreas.*

But the Reader will think it high time for me to come to the *Point in Queſtion*, an Examination of this *Paſſage of St. Jerom.* As for *our Editor's Emendation of it*, * (which I'll aſſure him was not new to me) it has no manner of Influence in the Diſpute, ſince I allowed him, as he owns, even before I had ſeen it, all that he pretends to infer from it. The whole Sentence runs thus: *Sed libera voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Græcorum, (abſque ſcripturis ſanctis, Ubi & verborum ordo & Myſterium eſt) non verbum è verbo, ſed ſenſum exprimere de ſenſu. Our Editor* from this Paſſage maintains, that St. *Jerom, in reforming the Vulgate of the New Teſtament, confined himſelf ſtrictly and religiouſly to the Order of Words in the Greek, believing it to be myſterious.*

* p. 18.

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In a *printed Letter* [*a*] of his, which I have before-mentioned, he gives us this Account; *About a Year ago*, ſays he, *reflecting upon ſome Paſſages of St.* Jerom, *that he had adjuſted and faſtigated the then Latin Vulgate, to the beſt Greek Exemplars, and had kept the very Order of the Words of the Original; I formed a Thought* a priori, *that if St.* Jerom's *true Latin Exemplar could be come at, it would be found to agree exactly with the Greek Text of the ſame Age; and ſo the old Copies of each Language, if ſo agreeing, would give mutual Proof, and even Demonſtration to each other. In this ſecond Paragraph of his Propoſals*, he tells us much the ſame Story, that if the *Old Greek Copies and St.* Jerom's *Latin were compared*, they would *be found to agree, not onely in Words, but in Order of Words.* This again he now calls * *a new and a noble Thought*, * p. 20. which muſt of Neceſſity be true, becauſe St. *Jerom*, he ſays, *durſt not have uſed this Expreſſion, if he had not kept cloſe to the Order of Words in his own Edition of the Scriptures.* But when he came to *make his Eſſay*, † then it was, † ibid. that he *reaped moſt glorious Fruits of his Sagacity, and his Labour; the Succeſs*, he tells us, *not onely exceeded his Expectation, but even his Hopes; nay, he was even amazed, ſurprized, and aſtoniſhed*; at what, do you think? why to find *that the Learned Father had ſpoke true.* But does

[*a*] Vid. Two Letters to Dr. *Bentley*, with the Doctor's Anſwer.

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not this ſhew what an Opinion he had of his *Thought a priori*, as well as of the *good Father*, when it was Matter of *ſuch Aſtoniſhment* to him to find *any truth in either* of them? and yet after all, whenever he can ſhew that St. *Jerom* has affirmed the *perpetual Order of Words in Scripture to be a Myſtery*; every Body elſe will ſee, that the *Learned Father did not ſpeak true.*

But how at laſt was the *great Experiment* made? and this Truth ſo clearly demonſtrated? * p. 23. Why, the *Matter of Fact*, he ſays, * *verifies it*; *for there are four or five very old Manuſcripts extant, with the Greek on one hand, and a Latin Verſion on the other*; *in all which, Line anſwers to Line, and Word to Word in Order.* Theſe are *Beza's Manuſcripts at Cambridge*, containing the Goſpels and Acts; another in the *Royal Library at Paris*, which is reckoned generally *the ſecond Part* of it, containing *the Epiſtles of St. Paul*; a third of the *ſame Epiſtles*, with the *Benedictines of St. Germain*; a fourth of *the Acts* now at *Oxford.* Theſe with the *Alexandrine* are allowed by all to be the *moſt antient Manuſcripts*, now known in the World; nay, *our Editor himſelf* has told us, in *his Letter* already mentioned *to Dr. Mill* [*b*], *that they vaſtly exceeded,*

[*b*] Atque hæc quidem talia Exemplaria, cùm aliis omnibus ubivis gentium, quod ſciamus, longè longèque & dignitate & tempore antecedant, neque quidqua mhodiè ſuperſit ſimile aut ſecundum. Vid. Rich. Bentleii Epiſt. ad Jo. Millium, ut ſupra.

both

both in Worth and Antiquity, all others whatſoever, in any Part of the World, and *that there was nothing extant at this Day, either like or ſecond to them*; *yet every one of theſe* have *been uſed* and *collated* not onely by *Dr. Mill*, but by *other Editors* before him; tho' now it ſeems to ſerve a preſent Purpoſe; we are to be amuſed with *an idle Story of much older* and *better Manuſcripts to be come at than prior Editors were acquainted with*. It muſt however without doubt give him much Comfort and Satisfaction to find theſe *good old Copies tally ſo exactly* together, and confirm *his noble Thought* ſo effectually; but I have an *unlucky Secret* to let the Reader into, which will ſoon put an End to his Raptures: For the *Latin of theſe Manuſcripts* happens not to be *that of St. Jerom*, but that of the *old Vulgate*, as it ſtood *before his Reformation* of it, which continued ſtill in the Uſe of the Church for two Centuries after he had made *his Corrections*.

And this, is not onely the Opinion of Dr. *Mill* [*a*], which *our Editor* has in ſo much Contempt, but of *all the beſt Judges*, and particularly Monſieur *Simon*, who [*b*] has made

[*a*] Qualis incedebat ante Caſtigationem Hieronymi (nam & ex his extat hodiè unum & alterum in Galliis, penes Monachos Benedictinos; hujuſmodi eſt Bezæ Cantab. Claromont. & Actorum Apoſt. Bodl. ut alia mittam) *&c.* Vid. Mill. Prolegom. p. 14.

[*b*] Simon Hiſt. Critique de N. T. p. 358. v. 1.

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it very clear and evident by undeniable Arguments.

Thus *our Editor*, we ſee, has been taking Pains to *aſtoniſh* himſelf to very little Purpoſe; for he might have proved his Point full as well from *the Coptic*, as *the Latin of theſe very Manu-*
† par. 2. *ſcripts*. If St. *Jerom's Latin*, ſays he, † *could be come at*, it would be found *to agree minutely* with *the Greek*; yet when he comes to the Proof, he makes the Experiment with *Latin which was not St. Jerom's*, nor ever at all touched by him.

But again, what *Greek* is this, that *tallies* ſo exactly with *this old Latin of his?* Why no other neither than *that of theſe ſame Manuſcripts*; but the Learned likewiſe are agreed, that theſe were not taken from the *good old Copies*, by which St. *Jerom reformed the Vulgate*; but were *thoſe very corrupt ones*, which *the Father ſo much complains of*; and were tranſcribed originally by *ſome of the Latin Church*, who had but little Skill or Knowledge of the *Greek*.

Having thus ſhewn what little Reaſon he has to be proud of *the Succeſs* of his *Experiment*, I ſhall now proceed to enquire into *the Notion it ſelf*; and prove *his new and noble Thought a priori*, to be *abſurd*, *ill-grounded*, and not at all *adequate* or *uſeful* to the Deſign he has built upon it: In order to which I have already obſerv-

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ed that it is directly *contrary* to the whole Reaſoning and Tenor of *the Epiſtle*, from whence it is taken; and that in all the other Places of St. *Jerom's Writings*, wherever *this Epiſtle* is referred to, or wherever he treats of the *Manner of Tranſlating*; he ſhews his Opinion to be *quite oppoſite* to it, and that in his *Verſions of the Scripture*, he followed *the Senſe* with *no ſtrict Regard to the Words or Order of Words*: ſo that upon the whole, I find it neceſſary to underſtand and explain *the Paſſage in Diſpute*, in a *qualified* and *limited Senſe*; as ſignifying nothing more, than *that St.* Jerom *in tranſlating Scripture, did not altogether take ſo much Liberty in departing from the Words, as in his Tranſlations of other Greek Books, becauſe he believed, that in a few particular Places of the Old Teſtament the Order of Words might poſſibly be myſterious.*

This I will ſhew to be the *true Senſe and meaning of St. Jerom*, by the onely proper Method of coming at *the Senſe* of any Paſſage, *viz. by a nice Examination of the Context*, as well as all the *other Parts of his Writings*, which touch upon the Subject. The Account I gave of this *in my Remarks* is as follows, *viz. The whole Subject of this Epiſtle to* Pammachius *is the Defence of a Tranſlation he had made (not verbally, but according to the Senſe) of a Greek Letter ſent from one Biſhop to another; where beſides alledging the Practice of profane Authors, he ſhews, that the beſt interpreters, even of Scripture, had no Regard*

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in their Tranſlations, to the Words, or Order of Words, but to the Senſe onely; which he proves by ſeveral Inſtances from the Septuagint, the Evangeliſts, the Apoſtles, the Vulgate Edition itſelf, and the Fathers.

But here *our Editor* ſtops me ſhort, and tells
† p. 21. me flatly that *I lie moſt impudently*; † *for having read*, ſays he, *that ſhort Tract over on purpoſe, I aſſure you there is not one Word in it of beſt Interpreters, or Latin Vulgate, or Fathers.*

Quid ais, O Columen Literarum, & noſtrorùm temporum Ariſtarche? Hier.

Not *one Word* in it, ſay you, of *beſt Interpreters, or Latin Vulgate, or Fathers?* But if there be not the *very Word*, you will allow me, I hope, that there is *the very thing*; which is much more to my Purpoſe; and I ſhall not wonder at your catching ſo much *at Words*, where there is nothing elſe to lay hold of. As for the *Vulgate Verſion* [*a*], we find it twice ſaid in expreſs Terms, *the Vulgate Edition has it ſo and ſo.* This *our Editor* will ſay, is meant onely of *the Septuagint*, which St. *Jerom* calls here by that Name; tho' others will tell him that it is applicable, not to *the Original*, but to the *common Latin Tranſlation of it.* But be this as it

[*a*] Vulgata quippè Editio ita ſe habet; hoc exemplum in vulgatâ Editione ſic fertur.

will;

will; he makes mention likewiſe of the *Latin Tranſlators* and *our Tranſlation*, which certainly comes up to *the thing*.

And as for *Fathers*; after he has alledged the Practice of *profane Authors* in Defence of his Way of tranſlating; when he comes to take notice of *Eccleſiaſtical Writers* or *Fathers*, he ſays thus [*a*]: *The time would fail me if I ſhould reckon up all who have interpreted according to the Senſe; it is enough, for the preſent, to Name* Hilary *the Confeſſor, who, in the Homilies on* Job, *and the Treatiſes upon the* Pſalms, *which he tranſlated into Latin, did not ſit nodding over the Letter, nor tormented himſelf with the nauſeous Interpretation of the Ruſtic; but by the Right as it were of a Conqueror, carried the Senſe away captive into his own Language; nor is this ſtrange*, continues he, *in profane or eccleſiaſtical Writers, when the ſeventy Interpreters, the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles do the very ſame alſo in the Holy Scriptures.* Here we ſee, that tho' the very

[*a*] Dies me deficiet, ſi omnium, qui ad ſenſum interpretati ſunt, teſtimonia replicavero; ſufficit in præſenti nominâſſe Hilarium confeſſorem, qui Homilias in Job, & in Pſalmos, tractatus plurimos in Latinum vertit è Græco, nec aſſedit literæ dormitanti; & putidâ ruſticorum interpretatione ſe torſit; ſed quaſi captivos ſenſus in ſuam linguam victoris jure tranſpoſuit. Nec hoc mirum in cæteris ſæculi videlicet aut Eccleſiæ viris, quum ſeptuaginta Interpretes, & Evangeliſtæ atque Apoſtoli idem in ſacris voluminibus fecerint.

Term,

Term, *beſt Interpreters*, be not mentioned, yet *the Epiſtle* is full of little elſe but Citations from ſuch as *all the Chriſtian World* muſt allow to be the *beſt Interpreters* that ever were; of which I ſhall now give a few, out of the many Inſtances here produced.

One of the firſt which St. *Jerom* takes notice of is from *Matt.* xxix. 9. where *the Evangeliſt* gives us the Citation of a *dark Prophecy*, fulfilled in *our Saviour*; and if the *Order of Words were a Myſtery*, we might ſurely expect to find it obſerved here, in a Paſſage *ſo myſtical* relating to the *Sufferings of the Meſſiah*; but inſtead of this, when St. *Jerom* has produced the Words of St. *Matthew*; *this Paſſage*, ſays he, [*a*], *is taken from* Zachariah [xi. 12, 13.] *But it is found there in Words and Order of Words intirely different:* And after having produced the Words of the *Septuagint*, he ſays, [*b*], *It is very clear what a Difference there is between the Evangeliſt and the Septuagint; but if we go ſtill to the Hebrew, though the Senſe be the ſame, the Words are different, as well as the Order of them.* And after having given his Tranſlation like-

[*a*] Hoc invenitur in Zachariah, ſed aliis multo verbis, ac toto ordine diſcrepante.

[*b*] Quantum diſtet ab Evangeliſtæ teſtimonio Septuaginta Tranſlatio, perſpicuum eſt; ſed & in Hebræo quum ſenſus idem ſit, verba præpoſtera ſunt & pæne diverſa.

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wiſe of the *Hebrew*, he concludes [*a*], *Let them accuſe the Apoſtle of Falſhood, becauſe he agrees neither to the Hebrew nor the Seventy; but far be it from us to ſay this of a Follower of Chriſt, whoſe Care it was, not to lie upon the Catch for Words and Syllables, but to give the true Senſe and Meaning of Doctrines.*

Another Inſtance is from St. *John's Goſpel* [xix. 37.] of a Citation likewiſe of a *Prophecy* of *our Saviour's Suffering from* Zacharia [xii. 10.] and after having produced the Words of St. *John*, *the Septuagint* and *Latin Tranſlation*, St. *Jerom* [*b*] ſays, *You ſee the Difference between the Tranſlation of the Evengeliſt, the Septuagint, and our own; and yet for all this Diſagreement in Words, they agree in Unity of Senſe.*

Upon another Inſtance of the ſame Kind, of a *Citation in Matthew* [i. 22, 23.] taken from *Iſaiah* [vii. 14.] *you ſee*, ſays he [*c*], *what a*

[*a*] Accuſent Apoſtolum falſitatis, quod nec cum Hebraico, nec cum Septuaginta congruat Tranſlatoribus; ſed abſit hoc de Pediſſequo Chriſti dicere, cui cura fuit non verba & ſyllabas aucupari, ſed ſententias dogmatum ponere.

[*b*] Diſcrepat Evangeliſta, Septuaginta Interpretum, noſtraque Tranſlatio & tamen Sermonum varietas ſpiritûs Unitate concordat.

[*c*] Quanta ſit inter Mattheum & Septuaginta verborum, ordinisque diſcordia, ſic magis admiraberis, ſi Hebraicum videas.

great Diſcord there is in Words and Order of Words between St. Matthew *and the Septuagint; but you will have Occaſion to wonder ſtill more, if you conſult the Hebrew.*

It would be too tedious to produce *all the Inſtances* he has brought from St. *Mark*, St. *Luke*, and St. *Paul* to the ſame Purpoſe as theſe already taken notice of; and yet in *ſuch Paſſages* as theſe, which are of the *greateſt Importance*, and contain a *myſtical Senſe and Application to the Meſſiah*, we muſt needs have found, I ſay, if any where, the *Truth* and *Certainty of our Editor's Notion.*

St. *Jerom* concludes his Reaſoning here by ſaying [*a*], that *it is evident by all the Inſtances above-cited, that the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, in their Interpretation of the old Scriptures, regarded the Senſe onely, and not the Words, and were not ſolicitous about the Words or Order of Words, if they could but make the Senſe intelligible.*

And now I would aſk any Man of common Underſtanding, whether it is *conceivable* or *poſſible*, that St. *Jerom* could believe the *general Order of Words to be myſterious*, when he is la-

[*a*] Ex quibus univerſis perſpicuum eſt, Apoſtolos & Evangeliſtas in interpretatione veterum ſcripturarum, ſenſum quæſiſſe non verba; nec magnopere de ordine ſermonibuſque curâſſe, dum intellectui res pateret.

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bouring with ſo much Pains to ſhew, that the *Septuagint*, *the Evangeliſts*, and the *Apoſtles*, did not at all regard it; when he is writing an Apology for *them* and *himſelf*, for the *Neglect of it*; when he is *expoſing his Adverſaries for not allowing him to do in a private Epiſtle, what they muſt*, he ſays [*a*], *whether they will or no, allow the others to have done in the Holy Scriptures.* I may defie any Man alive to believe ſuch an Abſurdity, except our *Editor* and *ſuch Creatures of his*, who can believe *any thing but their Maſter's Fallibility.*

This is an *exact* and *faithful* Account of *the Epiſtle to Pammachius*; which I have been the more particular in, to ſhew the Truth of the *ſhort Abſtract* I had given of it in *my Remarks*; which *our Editor calls dull and falſe*, and for that Reaſon undertakes to give a *more clear and honeſt one*; which he begins thus; * *St.* Jerom *had* * p. 20.
tranſlated into Latin a complaining Letter of Epiphanius *to* Chryſoſtom, *both his own contemporaries, and was charged by ſome Friends to the latter, that he had not done Juſtice in his Verſion, nor tranſlated the Words exactly, but warped them, as they thought, to* Chryſoſtom's *Prejudice.*

[*a*] Ut reprehenſores meos arguam imperitiæ, & impetrem ab iis veniam, ut concedant mihi in ſimplici epiſtola, quod in ſcripturis ſanctis, velint nolint, Apoſtolis conceſſuri ſunt. Epiſt. ad Pam.

Could any Man who pretends to give a *true* and *exact* Relation of Fact, ever have ſet out ſo unhappily? For this *Letter of Epiphanius*'s was not written to *Chryſoſtom*, as he tells us, ſo *formally* and *circumſtantially*, but to *John Biſhop of Jeruſalem*; and the Blunder is the *more unlucky* for him, as it demonſtrably diſcovers a very great Ignorance *of St. Jerom's Writings*; where the Controverſy between *Epiphanius* and *Biſhop John*, and the Part *this Father* acted in it, are ſo largely and frequently inſiſted on. There is among St. *Jerom's Epiſtles* this very *Tranſlation of* Epiphanius's *Letter*. *Jerom* ſided with *Epiphanius*, and was *excommunicated by John*; and beſides a frequent mention of the Caſe in *many of his Epiſtles*, he has left a very *long Treatiſe* in his Works, in which all the Errors *of this Biſhop* are collected and expoſed: yet *this is the Man* who pretends to *ſuch Familiarity with St. Jerom*; who inſults ſo often *my Ignorance* and *little Acquaintance* with him; yet I can tell him, with a great deal of Truth, that he has not produced *one ſingle Paſſage* from him, which I had not ſeen and conſidered, and knew to be nothing to his Purpoſe, long before he had taken ſuch Pains to convince us of it.

But I know what *our Critick* will have to ſay to all this, in his *next Anſwer*; he will tell us, that we may read *what Stuff* we pleaſe in our *vulgar interpolated Editions*, but that his *antient Manu-*

Manuſcripts tell him quite another Story; and *Johannes Hieroſolymitanus* was put corruptly by ſome *drunken drowſy Stationer's Boy*, for *Johannes Conſtantinopolitanus*. This is the Advantage which *Great Criticks* have over ſuch *poor Mortals* as never *made an Emendation*, of which we ſhall have more Occaſion to take Notice by and by.

In the reſt of *our Editor's* Account of *this Epiſtle*, there is no great Difference between us, except in *the Lie* he gives me about the *beſt Interpreters*, the *Vulgate Edition*, and *Fathers*. What Reaſon or Pretence he had for it, I muſt leave to the Reader, who will, I dare ſay, give me the *onely Satisfaction* I deſire, by ſhewing a *juſt Contempt* and *Deteſtation* of ſuch *brutiſh* and *infamous Scurrility*.

As for *the other Paſſages of St. Jerom*, I had ſaid in *my Remarks*, that I could produce *twenty*, to confirm the Truth of what I have advanced on this Subject. Here *our Editor* once more gives *me the Lie* †; but if it were not too impertinent and tedious to the Reader, I would undertake to ſhew him *twice the Number*; of which I ſhall give onely *ſuch a Specimen* at preſent, as will be ſufficient for my Purpoſe. † p. 21.

In his *Commentaries on Iſaiah*, he tells us [*a*],

[*a*] In multis teſtimoniis quæ Evangeliſtæ vel Apoſtoli de

that it is to be attended to very nicely, that in the many Citations which the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles brought from the old Scriptures, they did not follow the Order of Words, but the Senſe onely.

In the *ſame Book*, he ſays [*b*], *that St.* Paul *in his Epiſtle to the* Corinthians *fetch'd Authorities from the Original Scriptures, not tranſlating Word for Word (which kind of Interpretation he perfectly deſpiſed) but expreſſing the Truth of the Senſe to confirm what he was proving.*

In his *Commentaries on Amos* he goes a ſtep farther, and tells us [*c*], *that not onely the Apoſtles, but the Apoſtolical Writers, in citing and tranſlating Texts of the old Scriptures, never regarded the Words but the Senſe onely.* There are, I believe, near *twenty Places in St.* Jerom, where this very *Obſervation* is repeated; and it is generally introduced with ſome particular Hint or Monition [*d*]; that it is to *be ob-*

de libris veteribus aſſumſerunt, curioſiùs attendendum eſt, non eos verborum ordinem ſequutos eſſe ſed ſenſum. Comm. in Iſa. c. 5.

[*b*] Aſſumit Apoſtolus Paulus de authenticis libris, in Epiſtolâ quam ſcribit ad Corinthios: non verbum ex verbo reddens (quod facere omninò contemnit) ſed ſenſuum exprimens veritatem, quibus utitur, &c. cap. 64.

[*c*] Apoſtolos & Apoſtolicos viros, in ponendis teſtimoniis de veteri Teſtamento, non verba conſiderare ſed ſenſum. cap. 5.

[*d*] Curioſiùs attendendum; diligentiùs obſervandum; non ſolùm in præſenti loco, ſed ubicunque Ep. ad Alg.

ſerved

ſerved nicely, attended to diligently, and not onely in the Caſe mentioned, but every where. In his Commentaries on Galatians, he ſays [*a*], *we are not to imagine that the Goſpel conſiſts in the Words of Scripture,* but *in the Senſe.* In *his Comment on the Epiſtle to Titus,* he ſays [*b*], *I follow rather the Senſe than the Words of Scripture.* In *his Preface to* Job; *this Tranſlation of mine,* ſays he [*c*], *will ſometimes follow the Words, ſometimes onely the Senſe,* and *ſometimes both.* In his *Letter to* Sunnia *and* Fretela [*d*] *this Rule of tranſlating is to be followed, which I have often laid down, that where there is no Hurt to the Senſe, we ſhould obſerve the Propriety of the Language into which we tranſlate.*

In the *ſame Epiſtle,* he ſays [*e*], *if we ſhould tranſlate Word for Word, we fall into a falſe and erroneous Affectation, and our Tranſlation becomes abſurd.* And again [*f*], *while we follow this*

[*a*] Nec putemus in verbis ſcripturarum eſſe Evangelium; ſed in ſenſu c. 1.

[*b*] Magis ſcripturarum ſenſum quam verba ſectamur.

[*c*] Hæc autem Tranſlatio nunc verba, nunc ſenſus, nunc ſimul utrumque reſonabit.

[*d*] Eadem igitur interpretandi ſequenda eſt regula, quam ſæpè diximus; ut ubi non ſit damnum in ſenſu, linguæ in quam transferimus, proprietas conſervetur.

[*e*] Quòd ſi transferre voluerimus ad verbum in κακοζηλίαν interpretationis incurrimus, & ſit abſurda Tranſlatio.

[*f*] Et dum interpretationis κακοζηλίαν ſequimur, omnem decorem tranſlationis amittimus.

falſe and erroneous Affectation of interpreting, we loſe all the Beauty of the Tranſlation.

In a *Letter to St. Auſtin*, he ſays [*a*], *this is my Rule, that where there is no Change in the Senſe, I may preſerve in my Tranſlation the Purity and Elegance of the Latin Tongue.* And he tells us expreſly, in his *Letter to Pammachius*, that this cannot be done *by tranſlating according to the Words or Order of Words*: For *how many things*, ſays he [*b*], *are elegant in* Greek, *which, if rendred Word for Word, are flat in* Latin? And, *on the contrary, what pleaſes us in* Latin, *if tranſlated according to the Order of Words, would be offenſive to them in the* Greek.

* p. 22. In Anſwer to all this *our Editor* ſhews, * from a Paſſage of St. *Hilary*, that the *Latin Tranſlators of the Old Teſtament were nice and curious in obſerving of the Words and Order of Words*; yet he ſhould have taken notice withal, that *Hilary is condemning* them for it at the ſame time. But we may obſerve here again, by the way, an Inſtance of his *ſingular Modeſty*. 'Tis † Ibid. *affirmed*, he ſays, † *by the Fathers*, that the *old*

[*a*] Et nos hoc ſequimur, ut ubi nulla eſt de ſenſu mutatio, Latini ſermonis elegantiam conſervemus.

[*b*] Cujus rel exemplum ex noſtro ſermone capere poſſumus. Quanta enim apud Græcos bene dicuntur, quæ, ſi ad verbum transferamus, in Latino non reſonant; & è regione, quæ apud nos placent, ſi vertantur juxta ordinem apud illos diſplicebunt.

Latin

Latin Verſions ſtuck cloſe to the Order of Words, and produces for it this Paſſage of *Hilary*; yet when I ſaid a little before, that *Jerom* had given Inſtances from the Fathers for his Way of tranſlating, which I grounded upon a Citation likewiſe from this ſame *Hilary*; he tells me, † *I lie*, and that there is *not one Word* † p. 21. *of the Fathers* in all that Epiſtle. However, what *Hilary* ſays here may eaſily be allowed him, and yet is nothing at all to his Purpoſe; for it is *theſe very Tranſlators*, that St. *Jerom* is ſo ſevere upon in every Part of his Writings: 'Tis this very Manner of tranſlating which he calls over and over again κακοζηλία, a falſe and *abſurd Affectation*, and *putrida interpretatio*; a *nauſeous Tranſlation*. He ſays frequently [*a*], that *Aquila was a Tranſlator of this kind, rendering Word for Word*; and tho' *for this* he was much admired by the *Jews*, yet he tells us [*b*], that for *the very ſame Reaſon, he was juſtly ſlighted and thrown aſide by Chriſtians*; *and calls him a troubleſome, contentious Tranſlator, for ſticking ſo cloſely to Words, Syllables and Letters.*

[*a*] De Aquila autem non miror, quod eruditiſſimus linguæ Hebraicæ & verbum de verbo exprimens, &c. Comm. in Iſai.

[*b*] Aquila autem contentioſus interpres, qui non ſolùm verba, ſed etymologias quoque verborum transferre conatus eſt, jure projicitur a nobis—ille κακοζήλως & ſyllabas interpretatur & literas. Ep. ad Pamm.

with

And now from theſe Authorities, together with what I have collected *in my Remarks*, we have a full and clear View of the Controverſy between *our Editor* and *my ſelf*; about our *different Expoſitions of this Paſſage of St. Jerom.* The Reader, I am ſatisfied, cannot help obſerving, that *my Explication* of it makes the *Learned Father* ſpeak *rationally, intelligibly*, and *conſiſtently with himſelf*; while *our Editor*'s *Notion* charges *Nonſenſe, Abſurdity*, and *endleſs Contradictions upon him.*

But I am ſtill to give an Account why I confine *this Notion of St.* Jerom's *to the Old Teſtament* onely. This I take to be intimated *in one Expreſſion* of this very Paſſage, *viz. Me in interpretatione Græcorum abſque Scripturis ſanctis*, &c. *In my tranſlating the Greek of the Scriptures*, ſays *St. Jerom, I did ſo and ſo.* Now it is allowed that he made *no Tranſlation at all of the Greek of the New Teſtament*, but *in the Old tranſlated the Greek of the Septuagint*, as he tells us himſelf in ſeveral Places, particularly, *in a Letter to St. Auſtin*, ſpeaking of the *Old Teſtament*, he has the very expreſſion *ibi Græca tranſtulimus*; *there I tranſlated the Greek*; whereas in *the New*, he onely made ſome Corrections in *the common Latin Verſion* of his Time. The Words [*Scripturis ſanctis*] are applied by him likewiſe in *this Epiſtle* to the *Old Teſtament* onely, as in a Paſſage already cited, *Quod in Scripturis ſanctis velint*,

velint, nolint Apoſtolis conceſſuri ſunt. But his own Reaſoning is ſufficient to prove that this Notion muſt be reſtrained to the old Scriptures: For in the *Old Teſtament*, he ſays, * *that all* Origen's *Allegories referred to the New; but in the New he could refer to nothing, but either common Notions, or viſionary Schemes of his own.* This was ſtill confirmed to me by what I have obſerved, that the *Jewiſh Writers*, and ſuch as are infected with their Notions, are full of idle Whims about Myſteries in the Order of Words of the Old Teſtament. And St. *Jerom* himſelf, after he had learnt *Hebrew*, might probably be a little touch'd with *theſe kind of Fancies*; but *no one Writer*, that I know of, has affirmed, that *the Order of Words in the New Teſtament is myſterious.* * p. 30.

But here *our Editor takes* me ſeverely to taſk; and will ſhew me, † *that there is more in the Fathers*, than I muſt pretend to be acquainted with; and to expoſe my Ignorance the more, nothing will ſerve him, but a *Paſſage from St.* Jerom *himſelf*, whom I have been turning over with ſo much Care; who tells us [a] in *his Commentaries on the* Epheſians, *that in the Greek of the Scriptures, the Words, Syllables, Tittles, and Points are full of Senſes.* The Reader, I dare † p. 21.

[a] Sed quia ita habetur in Græco, & ſinguli ſermones, ſyllabæ, apices, puncta, in divinis ſcripturis plena ſunt ſenſibus, c. 3.

ſay,

ſay, muſt at firſt be a good deal ſurprized to find *our Editor* proving the *Order of Words* to be a *Myſtery*, by ſuch a Paſſage as this, where there is not ſo much as a *Word*, *Syllable*, *Tittle* or *Point* that relates at all either to *Order of Words*, or *Myſtery*. But let us have a little Patience, and he will ſoon make it out to a Miracle; for he has got an *Argument* called *Parity of Reaſon*, which will prove to a Demonſtration, that *Syllables*, *Tittles*, *Points*, *muſt ſignifie Order of Words*; and *full of Senſes*, imply *Myſtery*. And now being ſure of Victory, he begins already to inſult, with *what ſays our Cenſor now? Are not Syllables, Tittles, Points, as ſmall things as the Order of Words? And muſt not, full of Senſes, mean deep, latent, recondite Senſes?* And *is not this as ſtrong an Expreſſion as Myſtery?* Many of his Creatures, I know, would bleſs themſelves here with Aſtoniſhment at *their Maſter's great Sagacity*. What *ingenious*, *what critical*, *what profound Reaſoning is this? How clear is it now our Maſter has found it out*; and *yet no Man could have found it out but himſelf?* But it happens a little unluckily, that St. *Jerom* ſeems to have diſclaimed all this Nonſenſe, which *our Editor* would faſten upon him: For in *an Epiſtle to Algaſia*, he ſays [*a*], *It is not in the Power of Language to expreſs deep, latent, recondite Senſes*; much leſs *can Tittles* and *Points*

[*a*] Profundos enim & reconditos ſenſus lingua non explicat.

do

do it. But in order to ſet this Matter in a clear Light, let us take a Review of the whole Paſſage: St. *Jerom in his Commentaries on* Epheſians, iii. 6. tranſlates συγκληρονόμα σύσσωμα, συμμέτοχα, by *cohæredes, concorporales, & comparticipes*, and ſays, *that he knows theſe Words make but an aukward Figure in Latin; but becauſe it is ſo in the Greek*, and *that in the Holy Scriptures Syllables* (or the Appoſition of ſuch Conjunctions) *as well as the Points and Tittles have their Significations; magis volumus in compoſitione ſtructuráque verborum quàm intelligentiâ periclitari*; which *our Critic* tranſlates thus, *viz. We chuſe rather to forego* (that is, to let alone or not meddle with) *the Structure of the Words, than to weaken the Meaning*; whereas the Senſe is juſt *contrary*, viz. we *chuſe to venture upon coining and compounding Words, which are not ſtrictly Latin, rather than to run any Hazard in the Senſe.*

And now what is there in all this, which has *the leaſt View* or *Tendency* to *our Author*'s Argument? What is there here ſaid of the *New Teſtament*, which may not be applied alſo in ſome Meaſure to *every other Greek Book?* And who beſides himſelf would ſay, that *the Compounding of Words by Prepoſitions*, and *the Points and Tittles in Greek are as inſignificant as the Order of Words?* A thing, in it ſelf *indifferent*, which may be varied and tranſpoſed without the leaſt Variation of the Senſe. Sure never

any

any Authority was produced ſo *impertinently* as this; and I defie him to ſhew, that even *his own Freethinkers* ever interpreted any Citation *more blunderingly*, or applied it more *awkwardly*. But if he could after all have made out of this Paſſage ſome *little Matter* to his Purpoſe, yet St. *Jerom* would tell him in his [a] Preface to this Book, that he ought not much to inſiſt upon it, becauſe he owns this Piece to be a *haſty, incorrect Performance*, and *not well digeſted* or *much thought of by him.*

We are now got through the Examination of *our Editor's new and noble Thought a priori*; how *noble* an one it is, the Reader is by this time ſufficiently convinced; but as to *the Newneſs* of it, it had been much more to his Purpoſe, I can tell him, if he could have proved it to be *an old one*; but ſince he values himſelf ſo much upon its *Novelty*; we muſt be ſo candid, as to allow him the *ſole and intire Credit* of it, and muſt own, that *no Man alive* ever dreamt of it before, or was *capable of forming it* but *himſelf*. But if, after all, it ſhould at laſt be found without a *juſt Foundation*; or ſhould fail him in any Part of what he has promiſed himſelf and the World from it; then this *whole Scheme* muſt appear to be wholly *uſeleſs* and *impertinent*; for *bating this Whim*

[a] Ut ſciatis me non cogitatum diu limatumque proferre Sermonem. Com. ad Epheſ.

about

about St. *Jerom's Order of Words*, he cannot do any thing more with *his old Verſion* than what has effectually been done before him, by *much better and abler Hands*; excepting, I ſay, this *ſilly Notion*, all that can be done towards *ſettling the Genuine Text* from the *mutual Conſent and Agreement in Words and the Order of them*, has already been executed, as I have ſufficiently ſhewn in *my Remarks*, by *the Complutenſes*, *Eraſmus*, *Stephens*, Mr. *Toinard*, and Dr. *Mill*. Every one of theſe knew perfectly well how far the *old Greek* and *Latin Copies anſwered and tallied with each other*; not *one of them* but had made the Experiment in *many more Manuſcripts* [*a*]; and *as old ones as he himſelf*. And not onely Dr. *Mill*, but *other Critics* have given us exactly the ſame Account he does of *thoſe very old Manuſcripts* he ſpeaks of *; *how Line anſwers to Line, and Word to Word in Order* [*b*]. * p. 23.

[*a*] Eraſmus inſtitutâ ſemel atque iterum Græcorum Exemplarium inter ſe & cum MSS. codicibus verſionis vulgatæ collatione ad Editionem, &c. Mill. Prolegom.

Adhibitis in conſilium utriuſque linguæ codicibus, vetuſtiſſimis ſimul & emendatiſſimis. Eraſm. ad Leon. x.

Porrò veterem verſionem negligendam non exiſtimavi, &c. Steph. Præf. 1551.

Ex quâ Rob. Stephani de veteri interprete ſcententiâ vulgatum Textum Græcum caſtigandum putavi ex vaticanarum lectionum & veteris verſionis mutuo conſenſu. Toinard, Harm. Evan. 1709.

[*b*] Exemplar ipſum quod attinet; deſcriptum eſt literis, &c. in quibus ſedulò a ſcriptore cautum eſt, ut Græca & La-

in the Greek and Latin. This I deſire to be particularly obſerved by the Reader, becauſe *our Editor has the Face* to affirm, that not *one Editor* of them all, not Dr. *Mill by Name, had ever taken any Notice in their Collation of Manuſcripts of the Order of Words.*

It was no Secret, I ſay, *to prior Editors,* that the *old Verſion* was upon the Matter a *verbal Tranſlation*; not onely adhering pretty cloſely *to the Words,* but very much *to the Order of them too.*

Dr. *Mill* has ſhewn this to be *the Genius of the old Vulgate thro' every Book of the New Teſtament,* and has produced likewiſe *every Alteration,* now to be found, which St. *Jerom* made in it; and all this, with no other *View* or *Purpoſe,* than to prove and clear up *the Original Text*; and yet *our Editor* has the Aſſurance likewiſe to affirm *, *that the Doctor never meddled at all with the Latin Vulgate, nor ever once dreamt of the excellent Uſe of it*; tho' he tells us all along in his *Prolegomena* [*a*] *that he paid the utmoſt Veneration*

* p. 14.

& Latina ſibi invicem reſponderent, verbum fere verbo, ſervato plerumque eodem ipſo verborum ordine. Mill. Proleg. p. 182.

Retento eodem verborum quantumcunque tranſpoſitorum ordine. Id. p. 133.

[*a*] *Veterem* Novi Teſtamenti *Italicam* ſummâ veneratione

ration to it, and valued every tatter'd Fragment of it like old Gold.

But the *former Editors*, as I have ſaid, ſpeak ſo much of the *cloſe Adherence of the Vulgate to the Greek*, yet they knew withal *how far* this Harmony extended; and ſhew us plainly, that it was ſo far from *following the Words ſo ſcrupulouſly and ſuperſtitiouſly*, as if *the Order of them were a Myſtery*; that it often *departed from them*; ſometimes *wantonly* and *without Reaſon*; in re ludicrâ quasi laſciviens & oſcitans. Mr. *Martin* tells us [*b*], *that as to the admirable Agreement, which our Editor pretends to have found amongſt his Manuſcripts, in the Places he has compared; he can aſſure him without Raſhneſs, that he will find ſeveral others, wherein he'll find Difference enough*; which I ſhewed likewiſe from the Obſervations of *Eraſmus*, *Arias Montanus* and *Bezæ*.

But here † *our Editor* comes over us again † p. 24.
with his *oldeſtedit*; *What Greek? What Vulgate was this then? &c.* and rails for thoſe *recent, interpolated, ſcoundrel, ſcrub Manuſcripts*, which *they ſaw and uſed*, and *which our Maſter would ſcorn*

tione proſequimur, ejuſque vel ſemeſa fragmenta auro contrà non cara ducimus. Mill. Proleg. p. 142.

Reſtat jam ipſius Hieronymi inſpiciamus Exemplar. Ibid. p. 81.

[*b*] Defence of Diſſertat. Engliſh.

to look into, they will differ from our Maſter's Greek and Vulgate in thouſands of Places. But he forgets ſure, that of the *four very old Manuſcripts*, which he had appealed to in the *very laſt Page*, *Beza* had uſed *two at leaſt*, and *the moſt conſiderable of them*; *one of which* he made a Preſent of to *the Univerſity of Cambridge.* As for *Eraſmus* and the *other Editors*, they have all given us Accounts of ſome *Manuſcripts* they uſed, of the *moſt venerable Antiquity*, which the Learned have not been able to find out to this Day; and as it is probable, that *ſome of them* may have been *loſt*; ſo neither is it unlikely, that *others*, after having *lain neglected* and *buried* for many Years in Obſcurity, may have been *retrieved* and *produced* again into the World under the Notion of a *new Diſcovery.*

But we need not trouble our ſelves, as I have ſaid in *my Remarks*, with *producing Evidence* in a Caſe ſo clear; for *his own Specimen* effectually overthrows *his Hypotheſis*; where, in the *Latin Text*, as dreſſed up by himſelf, we ſee *many conſiderable Variations* in *the Order of Words from the Greek*, as *v.* 2, 5, 8, 9, 12, *&c.* This * p. 24. *our Editor* calls * a *Specimen of the greateſt Malice and Impudence, that ever Scribler out of the dark committed to Paper.* But let him *rave* as much as he pleaſes; I am ſo far from ſeeing any Reaſon to change my Mind, that I ſtill inſiſt, that *theſe very Variations* are a ſufficient *Confutation of his Notion*; and with *theſe* I will

undertake to ſhew, that *the Account* which *other Editors* have given of *the old Verſion is juſt and true*; whilſt *his own is falſe and ridiculous*. Dr. *Mill* ſays [*a*], *of this Verſion, that in this Book of the* Revelations *it is very accurate, and almoſt every where follows the Greek cloſely at the Heels, unleſs where it is proper to change the Tenſes of the Verbs. Our Editor* on the other hand ſays, † that St. *Jerom*, who reformed *this Verſion*, believed *the Order of Words to be a Myſtery*; *which he obſerved therefore in his Latin moſt religiouſly, not daring to vary a Tittle from it.* The Queſtion is, which of theſe Characters *is true?* And it may eaſily be decided *by an Appeal to the Specimen.* For inſtance, τοῦ ποτ̣αμοῦ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐν̣ε̣ῦθεν, *v.* 2.] is rendred in *Latin, ex utraque parte fluminis.* Here we ſee, *the Verſion* is very *accurate* as to *the Senſe*, but makes *very free* with *the Order of Words. Our Editor* ſays *, *it could not be tranſlated otherwiſe, without a Barbariſm.* But what's that to the Purpoſe, in a *Verſion* which is allowed to abound *in Barbariſms?* If it had been rendred, *fluminis hinc & hinc*; it would have been as intelligible, and even as *good Latin* as *many other Places*, that might be produced; but if it muſt needs be *ex utraque parte*; why ſhould not *fluminis* be put *before* rather than *behind*, to cor-

† p. 20.

* p. 24.

[*a*] In Apocalypſi, verſio admodùm accurata erat, ipſiſque Textûs Græci veſtigiis ubique ferè κατὰ πόδας inſiſtebat, niſi cum ſeries narrationis exigerent, ut mutarentur verborum tempora. Mill. Proleg.

reſpond the better with the *Greek in a Point ſo ſacred?*

Ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, *v.* 12.] is in the Latin, *ſecundum opera ſua.* Here we ſee *the Verſion* preſerving ſtill the *Senſe*, but regarding neither the *Words nor Order of Words.* But *our* † p. 24. *Editor* tells † us again, that this could not poſſibly be helped, *for it muſt have been very aukward to have tranſlated otherwiſe*; as if *Myſteries* were to be given up *for Trifles.* A Page or two ago, St. *Jerom* was defending *aukward Latin*, for fear of loſing a *Tittle of Senſe*; but now the *Tables are turned*, and he muſt needs *profane Myſteries*, for *fear of writing aukwardly.* But what is moſt ſurpriſing, is to find *our Editor* roundly affirming that in *theſe two Inſtances* there is not *the leaſt Variation*, nor *any Breach of Order at all*; and yet but *three Lines* after he calls it, *a judicious Change of the whole*; ſurely *no Man but himſelf* could have ſuch a Contempt for his Readers as to think to put them off with ſuch *ſhuffling*, *ſenſeleſs*, *incoherent Stuff* as this.

* p. 25. He is forced however at laſt to own, * that there are *two Deviations from the Order of Words*, as οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, *v.* 5.] *ultra non erit*, for *non erit ultra*; and τῷ δεικνύοντί μοι ταῦτα, *v.* 8.] *qui mihi hæc oſtendebat*, inſtead of *oſtendentis mihi hæc.* But theſe he laughs at, as *too trifling* to deſerve *any Regard* or *Conſideration*;

tion; and ſo far I agree with him, that *the Alterations* are indeed *very trifling*; and that it would be impertinent to take notice of them on any Account but this, where it happens, that the *more inconſiderable* they are, the more effectually they ſhew the *Abſurdity of his Notion*; for if St. *Jerom believed the Order of Words to be a Myſtery*; would he *violate that Myſtery* for a Trifle, for nothing at all? If he believed it a *Point of Religion*, to ſtick to *the very Order of Words*, would he have departed from it *in meer Wantonneſs*, without *the leaſt Pretence* in the World for it? A man, one would think, muſt be infatuated, that would reaſon ſo *abſurdly* and *inconſiſtently*.

As for *the other two Inſtances* I referred to, my Meaning was to ſhew by them a *verbal Variation from the Greek*, which is as much againſt his Scheme as *if the Order were chang'd*; for he promiſes, that *Jerom's Latin* is to *agree with the Greek*, as well in the *very Words* as *the Order*. And yet for all his Reflection upon *my & cætera*, I can produce many more Examples of this kind in *his Specimen*, as ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα, *v.* 20.] is in *the Latin*, *qui teſtimonium perhibet iſtorum*; and can any Man call this *tranſlating verbally*, or *adhering religiouſly to the Words?* Nay, is it not juſt the *contrary*, *a departing from the Words*, *as far as is poſſible*, *without hurting the Senſe?* If the *Tranſlator* had been *ſo ſcrupulous*, as *our Editor* makes

him, he muſt neceſſarily have rendred it by, *teſtificans hæc*; which is a Phraſe very common with the *Vulgate Verſion*. Again πᾶς φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος, *v.* 15.] muſt, according to *our Editor's Notion*, have been tranſlated, *omnis amans & faciens Mendacium*, and not, *qui amat & facit*; and ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι, *v.* 8.] muſt likewiſe have been rendred, *cecidi adorare*; and not, *ut adorarem*; for there are Inſtances in this very Chapter of both theſe kinds of Tranſlation. And now we ſee the Truth of Dr. *Mill's Obſervation*, and the *Extravagance of our Editor's*; *the Verſion* keeps *accurately to the Senſe*; almoſt every where *cloſely to the Words*; and yet *changes ſometimes the Moods and Tenſes of Verbs*, but yet *departs* both from *Words and Order of Words* often enough to convince us, that the *Tranſlator* never dreamt of *any Myſtery* lodged *in either*.

But the Truth and Merit of *this new and noble Thought* may eaſily be brought to a *Trial* and *Experiment* by the Reader; for let him take *the Scraps of Greek* here produced, and with *our Editor's Notion* fixt in his Head, let him ſit down *to tranſlate them* anew, as *exactly* and *agreeably* to it as poſſible; and he will ſoon find it neceſſary in every ſingle Inſtance to give us *other Latin*, than we now ſee in *the Specimen*. Or on the other hand, let him throw aſide *the Greek*, and endeavour to *tranſlate the Latin* back again with *the Notion* of its agreeing

moſt

moſt religiouſly and minutely with the Original both in the Words and the Order of them; and he would ſoon find *his Greek* likewiſe appear *very different* from that of the *preſent Text*; he would ſoon find, I ſay, in both theſe Caſes, that *our Editor's Notion*, if purſued exactly, and with ſo *much Streſs*, as is laid upon it, would, inſtead of mending *both Texts*, make them both inſtrumental to *the corrupting* each other.

I had before obſerved *in my Remarks*, how *our Editor's Notion* would naturally lead him *to wreſt* and *force both Texts*, to accommodate them *the better to his Hypotheſis*. This he will needs have to be a *ſtupid* and *ſenſeleſs Calumny*; *confuted even by my ſelf*; for if *he had been diſpoſed*, he ſays, * *to warp his Texts*; he could eaſily have *ſet all the Variations* I have been objecting to him, *in their right Order*, and *have kept his own Counſel*. We ſee what an Opinion he has *of the Senſe and Abilities of Mankind*; there's *no Sagacity, no Judgment, no Obſervation in any Man but himſelf*; we have nothing but *his great Integrity* to truſt to for the *Genuineneſs of our Scriptures*. 'Tis but *keeping his own Counſel*, and he could put upon us *what Text he pleaſes*, and the Chriſtian World be never the wiſer. But for all the Appeal he here makes *to his great Fidelity*, the Reader may eaſily obſerve *in his Specimen*, what *a Byaſs and Prejudice* there is upon him from the Influence *of this*

* p. 2.

Notion of his; for as to *the Greek Text*, he does not ſcruple to *make it bend to the Latin* upon the Credit of a *ſingle Manuſcript*; and often changes it, where his *main Authority* is fetch'd from *the Conſent of the Latin Copies*, v. 5, &c. And *for the Latin*, he is ſtill leſs ſcrupulous; making it *comply with the Greek*, ſometimes, as he owns, *contrary to the greateſt Part of the Manuſcript*, v. 5. ſometimes *contrary to all the Manuſcripts he ever ſaw*, v. 3. *This A-*
* p. 37. *greement of the two Texts*, he calls, * *as plain and cogent a Reaſon for altering them, as any Authority.* And it is not enough for him, we find,
† p. 32. † *to reſtore the Text to Truth and Certainty*, except it be *reſtored to Order too.* And what elſe is this but *putting a Force*, as I ſaid, *upon both Texts*, the better to make good *his own Hypotheſis?*

In the Cloſe of *my Remarks* on this *ſecond Paragraph*, I had obſerved, that *our Editor in a Sermon preached ſome time ago at Cambridge*, and ſince printed, had ſpoken of the *vulgar Latin* in a Style *very different* from what he uſes at preſent; and I took Occaſion there to ſhew, as an Inſtance of his *great Skill* and *Knowledge* in *the Controverſy* he was then handling; how in the *Face of an Univerſity*, and in a *ſtudied, laboured Diſcourſe upon the Errors of Popery*, he betrayed a *profound Ignorance* of what the *Church of* Rome *maintained*, or *the Council of* Trent *had decreed in reſpect to the Vulgate Verſion*; and *blunder'd along* with *the common Herd of Writers*, about

about *their enhancing the Stream above the Fountain*; *the Tranſlation above the Original*; *the corrupt Latin of an unknown Author, above the inſpired Greek.* All which *Stuff* can ſerve for nothing elſe, but to make us *contemptible to the Papiſts*; having been *ſo often confuted*, and *ſo conſtantly diſclaimed* by all their *beſt Writers.*

But he has thought fit to take no other Notice of this Charge, than by repaying my Compliment *in kind*, and anſwering me * *with a Blunder of my own*; for having told us, *in this Sermon of his, that more Antient Manuſcripts are preſerved of the Greek than of the Latin.* I was ſilly enough, it ſeems, to miſtake it for *more in Number*; whereas he meant onely *more in Degree*; that is, *antienter.* For tho', ſays he, † *there are four or five Greek Manuſcripts, older than any Latin one*; *yet for thoſe of a thouſand Years old, there are twenty Latin ones preſerved for one Greek.* We ſee here, that *Manuſcripts of a thouſand Years old* are nothing at all with him; he talks as familiarly of them, as if they were to be found in every Bookſeller's Shop. He told us not long ago § of *eight Greek Manuſcripts*, he had by him, of *above a thouſand Years old*; and if there was not *one more* in Being than *theſe eight*, yet that would raiſe the Number of *his Latin ones to eight Score*, which I am ſure, modeſtly ſpeaking, is at *leaſt ten times more* than are now *known to be extant in all the World. Jac. le Long*, a *learned Father of the Oratory*, and

* p. 27.

† ibid.

§ p. 13.

Library

Library-keeper at Paris, after a *moſt curious* and *diligent* Enquiry among the *beſt Authors*, and *Libraries of Europe*, could not find ſo much as *one Manuſcript of St.* Jerom's *vulgar Latin*, which appeared *certainly* and *undoubtedly* to be *a thouſand Years old*; as we ſee in *the Catalogue*, he has printed, of *an hundred of the beſt and oldeſt of them, now known in the World, with Critical and Hiſtorical Notes* upon each. He tells us, as I find him quoted alſo by Mr. *Martin*, (p. 14.) *that he found none older than* Theodulphus, *who was an Abbot, and Biſhop of* Orleans *about* A. D. 790. *He mentions another of the Year* 795. *and a Third of which he doubts a little, in a Monaſtery of the* Ciſtercians, *which is reputed to be a thouſand Years old.* But this is another Inſtance of *the Livelineſs of our Editor's Imagination*; and ſhews that *Father Amelote* was really but a Novice to him.

Paragraph the Third.

The Author believes, that he has retrieved (except in very few Places) the true Exemplar of Origen, *which was the Standard to the moſt Learned of the* Fathers, *at the time of the Council of* Nice *and two Centuries after. And he is ſure, That the* Greek *and* Latin *Manuſcripts, by their mutual Aſſiſtance, do ſo ſettle the Original Text to the ſmalleſt Nicety, as cannot be performed now in any* Claſſic *Author whatever: and that out of a Labyrinth of Thirty Thouſand Various Readings, that crowd the Pages of our preſent beſt Editions,*

all

all put upon equal Credit to the Offence of many good Perſons; this Clue ſo leads and extricates us, that there will ſcarce be two Hundred out of ſo many Thouſands that can deſerve the leaſt Conſideration.

REMARKS.

In my *former Remarks on this Paragraph*, I had ſaid, that *the Account, our Editor here gives of* Origen's *Exemplar, which he pretends to have retrieved, ſeemed to be a groundleſs Fancy, or Miſtake of his own*; and I ſupported my Opinion with many good Reaſons and Authorities, which I need not now repeat. *Our Editor* however is reſolved, we ſee, at all Adventures to ſtick to his Point; and growing onely more deſperate by Oppoſition, *advances ſtill* and *riſes* in his Aſſertion, *ut ex frontis duritiâ fidem lectori faceret, & quod impudenter ſcriberet, verè ſcribere judicaretur.* Hier. For *Origen's Exemplar*, which was before a *Standard onely to the moſt Learned of the Fathers*, is now declared to have been *received as ſuch* * by both *Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches.* Nay, he now tells us the very *Circumſtances* and *Manner* of *Origen's compoſing it*, as if he had ſtood all the while at his Elbow, or had been as *intimate* with him as *once with Dr. Mill*; for *he gathered*, he aſſures us †, *from all Parts the Exemplars of the beſt Note*; *examined* and *collated them*; and *by thoſe Helps ſettled the genuine Text*, juſt as he himſelf

* p. 30.

† Ibid.

and

and *other good Critics* would do, even at *this Day.* Yet all this *formal Story,* will be found at laſt to be *pure Invention* of his own, without any *Reality* or *Foundation* in *Truth* or *Hiſtory*; and I may venture without any Scruple to affirm, that there is not the *leaſt Ground or Authority* for it in *all Antiquity.*

The firſt Argument I ſhall produce for this Opinion of mine (which I take to be a very concluſive one) is what I have met with and borrowed from *Origen himſelf,* who tells us in his *Commentaries* upon *Matthew* (c. xix. v. 19.) *that he believes this Sentence,* ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν, *thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf*] to have been an *Interpolation* or *Addition* made to *the Text* by ſome *Copyer*; for which he gives very good Reaſons; but does not, *as Criticks do now,* produce the *Authority of any particular Manuſcript* to ſupport his Conjecture. *It would be impious,* ſays he, *to aſſert ſuch a Paſſage as this to be interpolated, if we did not know the great Difference there is in the ſeveral Copies of the New Teſtament, cauſed either by the Negligence, Ignorance,* or *Raſhneſs* of *Tranſcribers. This Evil,* continues he, [*a*] *we have, by God's Aſſiſtance, remedied,*

[*a*] Τὴν μὲν ἓν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωνίαν, θεοῦ διδόντος, εὕρομεν ἰάσασθαι, κριτηρίῳ χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν. Orig. Comm. in Mat. p. 381. ex Edit. Huet.

as

as far as concerns the Old Teſtament, by making uſe of its ſeveral Editions as the Rule of judging by. Here we ſee *Origen* is treating expreſly of *the Corruptions*, which were found in the *Copies of the New Teſtament*; and if he had made it his Buſineſs to *have corrected* and *reformed them*, and out of *them all* to have *gathered* and *ſettled the genuine, authentic Text* as *our Editor* affirms, it would have been here *very proper*, nay *very neceſſary* to have given us ſome account of it; but inſtead of that, he tells us, *that he took this Pains onely in the Old Teſtament*, without any mention, either *here* or *any where elſe*, that he ever did the *ſame in the New.*

Euſebius, who was a *zealous Apologiſt for* Origen, has not given the *leaſt Hint* of it, in *his Hiſtory* of thoſe Times; tho' he has left us a very large Account of the *Merits of this Great Man.* He tells us, with what *incredible Induſtry* he applied himſelf to *the Study of the Scriptures* [*a*], and *what numerous Volumes of Commentaries he wrote upon moſt of the Books of Sacred Writ*; what *Pains he took in publiſhing his celebrated Work called* Hexapla; where his Diligence was chiefly employed in *correcting* and *amending the Edition of the Septuagint:* But he ſays not *one Word* of any *critical Pains* he took upon *the Text of the New Teſtament*; or of any *famous*

[*a*] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. cap. 25. l. 6.

Ex-

Exemplar he left of it; but inſtead of that, acquaints us, *that he did not receive ſome of its Books as Canonical.*

Ruffinus, who tranſlated moſt of *his Works* into *Latin*, and *wrote an Apology* for him, has not taken the leaſt Notice of any *ſuch correct Exemplar* of his, as is here pretended.

St. *Jerom*, who was a *great Admirer of* Origen's *Parts and Learning*, is very particular in the frequent account he gives *of his Hexapla*; yet ſays not *one Word* to make us believe that he ever *attempted or effected any Critical Edition of the New Teſtament*, or left *any Copy* of it behind him ſo famous *for its Correctneſs*, as to become a *Standard to any Body*; and as *to the Edition of the Septuagint*, exhibited in *his Hexapla*, where he had placed moſt of his Pains and Skill, he often tells us [*b*], *that different Countries uſed different Copies even of that: For* Alexandria *and* Ægypt, ſays he, *followed the Edition of* Heſychius: Conſtantinople *as far as* Antioch, *preferred that of* Julian *the Martyr*;

[*b*] Nunc cum pro varietate regionum diverſa ferantur Exemplaria, & antiqua illa tranſlatio corrupta ſit, &c. Alexandria & Ægyptus in Septuaginta ſuis Heſychium laudat autorem. Conſtantinopolis uſque Antiochiam Juliani Martyris Exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has Provinciæ Palæſtinos Codices legunt, quos ab origine elaboratos Euſebius & Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Hier. Præf. in lib. Paralipom.

and

and the Provinces between theſe two read Origen's *Copies, which* Euſebius *and* Pamphilus *publiſhed.* So that his *moſt celebrated, admired* and *critical Work, his Edition of the old Scriptures,* inſtead of *being a Standard to the whole Chriſtian World,* was onely received *as ſuch* in a *ſmall Corner of it,* hardly beyond the *Confines of Palæſtine.*

St. *Jerom* lived at *Bethlehem,* in this *very Country,* where he made a *Collection of* Origen's *Works*; in order to uſe him as a *Commentator,* and not as a *Critic*; for he condemns [*a*] *his very Edition of the Septuagint, as corrupted rather than mended by him*; and when he was reproached as an Admirer of his Notions, *I praiſed in him,* ſays he [*b*], *the Commentator, and not the Author of Opinions*; *his Parts not his Faith*; *the Philoſopher not the Apoſtle:* and in another Place, he ſays [*c*], *that it was in his Tomes or Volumes of Commentaries that he ſpread the full Sails of his Wit and Parts to the blowing Winds.* St. *Jerom,* whoſe chief employment was *writing Commentaries upon the Scriptures,* made it his Buſineſs to collect *all the Commentators* what-

[*a*] Epiſt. ad Auguſt.

[*b*] Laudavi interpretem non Dogmatiſten; ingenium non fidem; Philoſophum non Apoſtolum. Id. ad Pam.

[*c*] Ille inſcripſit Tomos, nos volumina; — in quo opere tota ingenii ſui vela ſpirantibus ventis dedit. Id. ad Vincen. Preſb.

ſoever,

ſoever, who were of any Note, or admired in the Church, and *Origen* among the reſt, to whom he often gives the Preference. He tells us [*a*], *that he abounded in many different Editions of the ſacred Writings*; and when he was charged with following *Origen's Opinions*, he excuſes himſelf by ſaying [*b*], *I have collected his Books, I confeſs,* but *wiſh that I had the Volumes of all the Writers of this kind.* And again, *it is the Duty,* ſays he [*c*], *of a Commentator to give the Opinions of many Writers*; and *for that Reaſon I have alſo given the Explication of Origen.* And in the *ſame Book* he ſays [*d*], *in my Commentaries on the* Epheſians, *I have followed* Origen, *and* Didymus, *and* Apollinarius, *(who all certainly hold Opinions contrary to each other) in ſuch a Manner, that I might not loſe the true Faith.* In theſe Commentaries which he had collected there might very probably be added or interwoven *a Copy of*

[*a*] Et quoniam, largiente Domino, multis ſacræ Bibliothecæ Codicibus abundamus. Id. ad Flor.

[*b*] Congregavi libros ejus, fateor, &c. Utinam omnium Tractatorum haberem volumina. Id. ad Pamm. & Ocean.

[*c*] Commentatoris officium multorum ſententias ponere, etiam Origenis explanationem poſui. Id cont. Ruff. l. 1.

[*d*] Ego in Commentariis ad Epheſios ſic Origenem, & Dydimum, & Apollinarium ſequutus ſum (qui certè contraria inter ſe habent dogmata) ut fidei meæ non amitterem veritatem. Id. ibid.

the

the Text, which each Author followed; and it muſt be allowed likewiſe, that *Origen* here and there *occaſionally interſperſed ſome Critical Notes and Obſervations upon the different Readings of the ſeveral Exemplars he had met with.* And this will lead us to the true Meaning and Explication of *thoſe two Paſſages of St. Jerom*, which *our Editor* has brought, * as the *ſole* † p. 21. *Authority* and *Foundation* of his Aſſertion; both which he borrowed onely from Dr. *Mill* [*b*], and tho' he pretends ſo much to deſpiſe his Authority, yet was plainly led by it into *this unhappy Blunder*, by the Doctor's having laid more ſtreſs upon *theſe Paſſages* than they will be found able to bear; and what makes it clear, that he looked no farther than *the Doctor's Prolegomena*, is, that beſides theſe *two Citations*, he mentions here *a third*, which he found alſo in the ſame Place, about the *Collation of* Origen's *Copies* at *Cæſaræa*, with telling us where to look for it *in St. Jerom*, becauſe *Dr. Mill himſelf* had neglected to inform us, where he found it. As to the two Paſſages here produced, the firſt is in *this Father's Commentaries on Matthew (c. 24.)* where he ſpeaks [*c*] *of a Reading found in the Latin Copies which was not in the Greek ones, eſpecially thoſe of* Origen *and* Pierius. The *ſecond* is in *his Commentaries*

[*b*] Vid. Mill. Prolegom. p. 64.

[*c*] In quibuſdam *Latinis* codicibus additum eſt, *neque Filius:* cum in *Græcis* & maximè *Adamantii* & *Pierii* Exemplaribus, hoc non habeatur adſcriptum.

on Galatians (*c.* 3.) where he ſays [*a*], *that he omitted to ſay any thing upon an Expreſſion there mentioned, becauſe it was omitted in* Origen's *Copies.* And now, what does *our Editor* gather from *theſe two Paſſages?* Why *his Concluſion* is, that *Origen's Exemplar of the New Teſtament was a Standard to the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches,* that is, *the whole Chriſtian World*; and yet *the Premiſſes* imply nothing more, than that St. *Jerom* made uſe of *Origen,* amongſt *other Commentators*; ſometimes following *one,* and ſometimes *another.* For the *firſt of theſe Inſtances* will prove full as well that *Pierius's Exemplar was a Standard,* as *that of Origen*; ſince *both of them* are put exactly upon *the Level*; and *the ſecond* onely ſhews, that *Origen* was there preferred to the *reſt of the Commentators*; For tho' St. *Jerom* made uſe, as I have ſhewn, of *ſeveral of them* in other Books; yet he tells us [*b*], that *he followed* Origen *alone in this*; and it was but neceſſary therefore for him *to omit* the ſaying any thing upon *ſuch Paſſages,* as *Origen himſelf* had left out of his Copy, or had neglected *to take notice of*

Among all the *Modern Writers* who are allowed to be the *moſt knowing in Antiquity,* and the *beſt Judges* of the *Point in queſtion,* there is not the *leaſt Notion* that *Origen* left behind him

[*a*] Sed hoc quia in *Adamantii* Exemplaribus non habetur *omiſimus.*

[*b*] Imbecillitatem virium mearum ſentiens Origenis Commentarios ſum ſequutus. Id. Præf. ad Galatas.

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any Exemplar of the *New Teſtament*, which was received afterwards as a *Standard*.

Neither *Du Pin* in his *Life of Origen*, nor Monſ. *Tillemont*, who has written ſtill more *largely* and *particularly* about him, has given us any hint about it, but tells us onely the *old Story of his Hexapla and his Commentaries*, and how the great Reputation he acquired *by theſe*, drew many Strangers from all Parts to viſit him.

The *Learned Huetius* (in his long and elaborate Treatiſe called *Origeniana*, prefixed to his *Edition of* Origen's *Commentaries*) has collected all that *Antiquity* and *the Fathers* have delivered *of Origen's Writings and Opinions*; with a particular Hiſtory of all who *favoured*, or *declared againſt him*, whether *Churches* or *private Perſons*; yet he gives us no Reaſon to imagine that *his Copy of the New Teſtament* was taken notice of any where after his Death as a *Standard* of *the genuine Text*; but on the contrary, that [*a*] *his Induſtry was chiefly celebrated for explaining the Myſteries of the Old Teſtament*; and *that* [*b*] *he did not ſtick to any one Edition, but uſed ſeveral*; and *often quoted the Spurious and Apocryphal Goſpel to the* Hebrews, *as St.* Jerom *himſelf aſſures* [*c*] *us.*

[*a*] In evolvendis præcipuè *Priſci Fœderis* myſteriis laudata ſit ipſius induſtria. Huet.

[*b*] Non *eâdem Editione* in iis interpretandis uſus eſt. Ib.

[*c*] Utebatur ſæpenumerò Adamantius *Evangelio ſecundum Hebræos*. Hier. de Scriptor. Eccleſias in Jacobum.

M. *Simon* [*a*] indeed ſpeaks very roundly to *the preſent Subject*, and affirms *directly that* Origen *never did what our Editor here declares him to have done*; that is, *leave any Exemplar of the New Teſtament as a Standard of the Genuine Text to the Church. He corrected*, he tells us, *the Edition of the Septuagint, according to the common Rules of Criticiſm; but did nothing like it in the New Teſtament:* For *the Eccleſiaſtical Writers*, ſays he, [*b*] *who lived after him, never take the leaſt Notice of two Sorts of Editions of the New Teſtament, as they do always of the Old*, viz. *the common one, and the other corrected by* Origen. He owns indeed, *that he collected with Care the beſt Copies of his Time, and made ſome Critical Reflections upon ſeveral Places of them as Occaſion offered; yet it does not at all appear*, he ſays [*c*], *that what he did of this Kind ever ſerved as a Law or Standard in regard to the New Teſtament, as it did in reſpect*

[*a*] Vid. Crit. Hiſt. of the N. T. v. 1. p. 337.

[*b*] Mais il n'a rien fait de ſemblable ſur le livre de Nouveau Teſtament auſſi ne voyons nous point, que les Ecrivains Eccleſiaſtiques, qui ont vêcu aprus Origene, ayent diſtinguè deux ſortes d'Editions du Nouveau Teſtament, comme ils ont diſtinguè deux Editions de la Verſion des ſeptante. Ibid.

[*c*] Mais il ne nous paroit point, que ſa Critique ait ſervi de loy au regard a ces livres, comme au regard a l'ancienne Verſion Grecque du vieux Teſtament, ſi cela etoit arrivè, nous aurions eu.

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to the Septuagint of the Old; for if this had been ſo, then we ſhould have had, continues he, [*a*] *a kind of* Mazora *for the Text of the New Teſtament, as the* Jews *have for that of the Old, and the Church would have acquieſced in* Origens *Text, as the others do in that of their* Mazorites.

Dr. *Mill* makes it evident and certain in *his Prolegomena,* that *the Copies of the New Teſtament,* which *Origen* made uſe of, were *corrupted* and *interpolated,* (which may be gathered likewiſe from St. *Jerom* himſelf) and he ſhews withal, that he was not *curious* or *exact* in his *Citations of the Scripture, but often truſted to his Memory, and made uſe of various Editions, as he happened to have them at hand, and ſometimes quoted the ſame Paſſage very differently*; and it is hardly credible, that he ſhould leave a *Standard of the genuine Text to the Church,* who never had any *certain* or *particular Exemplar* of his own, which he made *a Standard to himſelf.*

But ſhould we allow *our Editor,* for Argument's ſake, that *Origen* did leave behind him ſuch a *Copy of the New Teſtament* as he pretends, there is ſtill *another Difficulty* to be got over,

[*a*] Une Maſſore du Texte Grec des Evangeliſtes, & des Apôtres, de la meme maniere, que les Juifs en ont une du Texte Ebreu, &c. Ibid.

another Queſtion to be reſolved, *viz. how this ſame Copy can now be retrieved by any Man at this Diſtance?* The onely Way now left of coming at *any Reading* of *Origen*, is by *collecting* all the *ſcatter'd Paſſages of Scripture*, which are to be found in *his Works*, as well as *all other Citations* of them, borrowed from him by any of the *Eccleſiaſtical Writers*; but let him ſearch as diligently as he pleaſes, *all theſe Paſſages*, when drawn together, cannot poſſibly make out *the fiftieth part of an Exemplar of the New Teſtament*. Moſt of *Origen's Works* have been *loſt* many Centuries ago; and a *great Part* of what remains of him is preſerved onely *in Tranſlations* made chiefly *by Ruffinus*, who *altered, abridged*, and *uſed* them with a great deal of *Freedom*, as he himſelf owns, which gave Occaſion to *Eraſmus* to ſay [*a*], *that we hardly know any thing more of* Origen *now, than that in ſome things he was erroneous*. So that *this Notion of retrieving his very Exemplar*, muſt needs appear *ridiculous, abſurd*, and *little* better than a *Contradiction in Terms*.

But let us allow him ſtill farther, that *this Exemplar is even retrievable*; theſe are ſtill but *previous Points*; *the Merits* of the Cauſe lie in a *Queſtion of meer Fact*, viz. *Whether he has actually retrieved it or no*; and this can onely be

[*a*] Ac penè nihil novimus Origenis, niſi quòd in quibuſdam erraverit. Eraſm. in ſcript. Eccl. Hieron.

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determined by an Examination of *the Proof* or *Inſtances* he has given us of it *in his Specimen.*

And here I have obſerved, that he has produced in his Notes *no more than three various Readings from Origen*; and inſtead of *recovering* or *retrieving any Part even of theſe, he has thrown them all aſide as falſe.* This without doubt muſt needs appear *very ſtrange* to the Reader; but yet the Excuſe he here makes for it will, I dare ſay, ſeem much more *ſurpriſing:* For to ſolve *this Inconſiſtency*, he tells us, * *that theſe were not the true Readings of* Origen, *but ſuch as had been vitiated and corrupted by the Tranſcribors of his Works*; *not the Words of the Father, but of the Copyers of the Father.* To what Purpoſe then were they at all mentioned or alledged by him? It is his Duty to produce onely the *known* and *allowed* Readings of the *antient Writers*; much leſs, *ſuch onely*, as he knows *to have never belonged to them.* Is this the Way *of retrieving a true Exemplar*, by repreſenting us with nothing more of it, than what he owns to be *ſpurious?* Would *any Editor in his Senſes* have quoted onely *the corrupted Paſſages* of an Author, even *contrary to his own Emendations*; if he had known of *any true and genuine ones*, that would have *confirmed* and *eſtabliſhed them? Our Critic* has here plainly *overſhot himſelf*, and while he thought it ſo eaſy to make *a Fool of his Reader*, by carrying *the*

* p. 31.

Jeſt too far, has made a *Fool onely of himſelf.* I charged him with *being inconſiſtent*, in having given us *ſo little of Origen*; and he defends himſelf by proving, that he has really *given us nothing at all.* Thus, we ſee, that all this Noiſe he has been making *about Origen*, is but *another Flouriſh of his Rhetorick*; a *meer Banter*, and *Impoſition* upon the World; and *he*, who pretends here to *ſell us* Origen's *genuine Exemplar*, will be found to mean nothing more than *the Man*, who *mounts a Stage* with *Hippocrates's genuine Balſam*; *the one* is juſt *as quackiſh in Divinity*, as *the other* is in *Phyſick.*

As for the *reſt of this Paragraph*, it is hardly worth while to give my ſelf any further Trouble about it; ſince *our Editor* has not offered the leaſt thing *material*, againſt what I have already *remarked* upon it. I charged him *with contradicting both himſelf and common Senſe*, in making *that* a Ground of *Offence* againſt *Dr. Mill's Edition*, which he had before proved to be *its Advantage and Recommendation*; and when he had ſhewn *this very Offence* to be moſt *impertinent and ridiculous.* I obſerved, how he had made himſelf *very merry* [*a*] *with Dr.* Whitby's *Fears*; *with his greater Zeal than Knowledge*; *and his Concern for the Text, without knowing the Meaning of the Word*; and had expoſed likewiſe the *Cavils of the Sceptics, at the great Number*

[*a*] Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 61.

of

of various Readings, which we ſee in that very Edition; but the *confuting of Freethinkers*, we may fancy perhaps to have been an *eaſie Taſk*; but what ſhall we ſay to him now when he has *confuted even himſelf?* For now he will needs fetch us *back again*; and make us believe that *the Learned* * *Dr. Whitby* had ſurely Reaſon * p. 32.
to be alarm'd; that *the Panic ſeized the greater Part of the Clergy*; *the poor Churchmen were terrified*; *the Atheiſts carried all before them*, and had gained in a manner a compleat Victory; and yet, I dare ſay, there is *not an Atheiſt or Sceptic of them all*, that does not triumph more at *this Day*, than they have done for *ſome Years paſt*, to hear that the *ſacred Text* is under *the Correction of his Hand*; and not *one of them*, but would much ſooner *ſubſcribe for an Edition of it from him*, than from *any other Critic* in Chriſtendom.

If indeed we were ſtill in the dark upon the Subject of *theſe various Lections*; and could onely amuſe our ſelves *in general*, about the *ſtrange Difference of the ſeveral Copies of the New Teſtament*, if we could talk onely in the Lump *of thirty thouſand various and contrary Readings of the ſacred Text* which the Learned had diſcovered; this indeed might be ſufficient *to alarm*, and *offend many good Perſons*, who had not been converſant in this kind of Knowledge. But ſince Dr. *Mill* has brought *them all* out into *the Light*; and has ſet *the whole Number* before us in *one clear View*;

View; it is impoſſible that they ſhould any longer either be *formidable to the Chriſtian*, or *ſerviceable to the Atheiſt*; and they are now ſo far from giving any *juſt* Matter *of Offence*, that they muſt neceſſarily *take it away*; and *the Church* muſt always owe *this Service to the Doctor*; that her Friends as well as Enemies muſt now be convinced, that *all theſe Differences*, ſo much talked of, conſiſt onely in *meer Trifles and Nicetie*s, *of no Moment*, *Significancy*, or *Influence as to the Senſe of Scripture*; and that as *our Editor himſelf* has declared [*a*], *no one Article of Faith, or even Moral Precept is either loſt or perverted in all the thirty thouſand, chuſe as aukwardly as you will, chuſe the worſt by Deſign.* But after all, what a *Piece of Grimace* is it, to charge Dr. *Mill* with *crowded Pages*; with *Offence taken at the Number and undiſtinguiſhed Authority of his Readings*, when, as I have before proved from his *own Specimen*, the charge is much *more juſt againſt himſelf* in all theſe very ſame Inſtances?

Paragraph the Fourth.

To confirm the Lections which the Author places in the Text, he makes uſe of the Old Verſions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic *and* Æthiopic, *and of all the Fathers*, Greeks *and* Latins, *within the firſt Five Centuries*; *and he gives in his*

[*a*] Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 61, &c.

Notes

Notes all the various Readings (now known) within the ſaid five Centuries. So that the Reader has under one View what the firſt Ages of the Church knew of the Text; and what has crept into any Copies ſince, is of no Value or Authority.

REMARKS.

Our Editor tells us here, that I have given him but *very little Trouble*, for *I predict onely*, he ſays, * *that his Edition will fall ſhort of* * p. 35. *former ones, which he will leave to the Edition it ſelf to anſwer*; and I wonder he did not *hit upon this Anſwer* much ſooner; for if he had taken the ſame Courſe in all the *other Paragraphs*, he might have ſaved himſelf not onely a good deal of *Pains*, but all that *Ignominy* which *the Malice* as well as *Ignorance* of this Defence of his muſt neceſſarily *expoſe* him to.

As for the *Edition itſelf*, I have never pretended *to predict*, as he calls it, any thing at all about it, but what riſes naturally and neceſſarily from his *own Account* and *Deſcription of it*. I have undertaken onely to ſhew, that if it *be like its Picture*, which *he himſelf* has preſented to the Publick, it muſt needs be a *bungling*, *uſeleſs*, and *contemptible Performance*; and that particularly, as it is propoſed and deſcribed to us in *this very Paragraph*, it will *fall far ſhort* of what Dr. *Mill* has already executed in *his Edition*. This

This I proved from *our Editor's own* Account of what the Doctor had done, compared with what *he* now pretends to in *this Propoſal before us*; and here indeed I have truly *ſaved him ſome Trouble*; having not left him the *leaſt Syllable* to reply to it; the thing is a *Demonſtration.* He promiſes here to make uſe onely of *four Verſions*; whereas Dr. *Mill has actually made uſe of ſeven:* He pretends onely to give *the Readings of five Centuries*; the Doctor has actually produced *the Readings of fifteen.*

† Ibid. But he takes it † *heinouſly* of me, that I will not allow him to underſtand a *Tittle of the four Verſions* he makes uſe of, and thinks it very hard, that *this Defect* ſhould be charged as a *Reflection* upon him, which was never imputed as ſuch to Dr. *Mill, who fairly and frankly profeſſes in his* Prolegomena *that he knew nothing of the Oriental Tongues.* But here we may obſerve, by the Way, the *different Characters* of theſe *two Rival Editors*; *the one* ſcorns to aſſume *any Merit*, which he has not a *juſt Right* and *Title* to; *the other* ſcorns to allow *any Merit* to be in any other Man but *himſelf: The one* thinks it becomes him to *confeſs his Ignorance* of what he does not underſtand; *the other* thinks it a *Reflection* to be ſaid to *be ignorant* of any thing. But ſuppoſing *them both* to be entirely equal as to this Point, yet ſurely, I ſay, *ſeven Verſions* muſt always be thought more

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conſiderable, than *onely four of them*: But he would fain know how I come to be ſo *certain of his Ignorance of all theſe Languages.* This I allow to be a very *reaſonable Queſtion*; and ſhall always be content to be looked upon *as a Libeller*, and expoſed accordingly, whenever I am found *poſitive*, without *very ſufficient Vouchers.* Since therefore he deſires it, I will tell him for once, how I came to know it *ſo certainly.* When I was a *Candidate for a Fellowſhip in his College*, I offered my ſelf to be examined by him *in Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac*, which at that time I had taken ſome Pains about; but I was much diſappointed to find that he would not undertake *to examine me in any of them*; tho' for a Cover of his Ignorance, he told me then *the ſame Story* he does now, of the *famous Hexapla* he had compoſed, when he was in a Manner but a Boy. Some Years after this, at the Election of *an Hebrew Profeſſor in the Univerſity*, where he was likewiſe a very *active Elector and Examiner*, he never pretended, as I was informed, *to examine the Candidates in the Oriental Languages*; but called onely for a *Pindar to puzzle* them with, as the propereſt way of trying the Merit of an *Hebrew Profeſſor.* This, I preſume, will be enough to juſtifie what I have ſaid on this Occaſion; and he has not, we ſee, after all, the Courage to deny it directly; having nothing more to ſay for himſelf, than that he underſtood a good deal of the Matter *near forty Years ago.*

I had

I had obſerved likewiſe *in this Paragraph* a direct and evident *Contradiction* between *the Specimen* and *the Propoſals*; for though he promiſes here *to give in his Notes all the known Readings of the five firſt Centuries*, yet he has omitted ſeveral Authorities within *that Period*, which Dr. *Mill* had taken notice of, as *Hilarius*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, v. 2. 5. 14. beſides ſome of the *old Verſions*; and inſtead of *confining himſelf*, as he pretends, to thoſe *firſt Ages of the Church*, he makes as much uſe of ſome Authorities of *inferior Date* as of all the others put together; more particularly *Arethas*, a *Writer of uncertain Age*, who, as all Authors agree, could not *be earlier* than about *the middle of the ſixth Century*, tho' placed by ſome *as low as the tenth*; yet *our Editor* roundly affirms him * *to have flouriſhed in the fourth or fifth. Gregory Palamas*, another of his Authorities, is *truly a modern one of the fourteenth Century*, and *he condeſcends even* to be greatly obliged to *our printed Editions*; to all which he has not thought fit to make the *leaſt Reply* in his Anſwer.

* P. 42.

Paragraph the Fifth.

The Author is very ſenſible, that in the Sacred Writings there's no place for Conjectures or Emendations. Diligence and Fidelity, with ſome Judgment and Experience, are the Characters here requiſite. He declares therefore, that he does not alter

alter one Letter in the Text without the Authorities ſubjoined in the Notes. And to leave the free Choice to every Reader, he places under each Column the ſmalleſt Variations of this Edition, either in Words or Order, from the received Greek *of* Stephanus, *and the* Latin *of the two Popes* Sixtus V. *and* Clemens VIII. *So that this Edition exhibits both it Self, and the Common ones.*

REMARKS.

I have already given the Reader *ſome proper Hints*, how to judge of *our Editor's Pretenſions to the Characters* here given of a *good Scripture-Editor*; but tho' he takes no notice of the reſt, he lays hold however on the Conceſſion I had made, that *his whole Life had been ſpent in Critical Niceties and Grammatical Obſervations on prophane Authors*, and *for this*, he ſays, † *he is the fitter to give an Edition of the New Teſtament*; but I will venture to ſay even *quite the contrary*, that *for this* he is very unfit to give *any Edition* of it at all. † p. 36.

And here his *old Friend St. Jerom* happens to leave him in the lurch; but that's no Matter, he'll ſay; for he never yet valued any Friend who would not go *thorough Stitch* with him. St. *Jerom*, as we may ſee in the Paſſage of *my Title-page*, tells us a Story of *full as great a Critick as himſelf*, that was *ſo entirely engaged in the Study of Claſſical Letters, that he knew juſt*

juſt nothing at all of the Holy Scriptures, and yet like our Editor too, muſt needs be expoſing his Ignorance by prating and meddling with what he did not underſtand. Our Editor, we know, ſpent above *ten Years* (the beſt and moſt vigorous of his Life) in giving onely an *Edition of Horace*; and what is this, but in the Expreſſion of a *Learned Author*,

> Solido decennio infeliciſſimè & ſine fructu negari.

For tho' this be the *moſt allowed* and *celebrated Inſtance of his Learning*, yet a great Part of his Time and Pains was employed, as I could eaſily make appear, in *depraving* and *corrupting the Text of his Author, for want of underſtanding him:* and the *unwarrantable Freedoms* he has taken with *profane Authors*, will be ſo far from recommending him, that they muſt make all Men of Senſe afraid of *truſting him with the Correction of the Sacred ones.* But let him be never *ſuch an Editor of Claſſics*, yet what's all this to an *Edition of the New Teſtament?* Or, *as St. Jerom* ſays [*a*], *What has* Horace *to do with the* Pſalms? Virgil *with the* Goſpels? *or* Cicero *with the* Apoſtles? Every body knows what a Difference and Contrariety there is between the *one* and *the other*; not onely in *their Sentiments*,

[*a*] Quid facit cum Pſalterio Horatius? cum Evangeliis Maro? cum Apoſtolis Cicero? Hier. ad Euſtoch.

but

but *in their Stile*, or Manner of expreſſing them; and *an Editor* who ſeems ſo fond of making *the Apoſtles* * ſpeak *pure*, *polite* and *elegant Greek*; whilſt he is intent upon giving us a *correct Text*, muſt neceſſarily give us a *new one*. * p. 34.

I am very far from being an Enemy to *Claſſical Letters*; and look upon them, not onely *as ornamental*, but highly *uſeful*, and *even neceſſary to a Divine*; but ſtill I muſt affirm, that *this kind of Learning alone*, without *Skill* and *Experience in the Sacred and Apoſtolical Writings*, is ſo far from qualifying a Man for *an Editor of the New Teſtament*, that it will neceſſarily lead him into *Error* and *Miſtake*, and make him onely *corrupt the Text*, whilſt he pretends to be *mending it*.

We cannot have a *ſurer Proof* and *Demonſtration* of what I am aſſerting, than from *our Editor himſelf*, who, *in his Controverſy with the honourable Mr.* Boyle, *about* Phalaris's *Epiſtles* had confidently aſſerted, that προδίδωμι *never ſignified* giving *before*, *but onely* betraying; *that* διώκω *never ſignified* ſimply following after, *but onely* purſuing *as a perſecutor*; that παρθένος *never ſignified* Maidens *or* Women *in general*, *but onely* Daughters; and tho' theſe Obſervations might perhaps be generally *true as to prophane Authors*, yet they were found to be *certainly falſe in the ſacred ones*, as appeared by many Inſtances brought from the *Goſpels* and

Epiſtles; upon which the Learned and Ingenious Author makes [*a*] this *very juſt* Reflection, that *ſo profound a Græcian and Divine ſhould have looked a little into the New Teſtament, before he had pronounced ſuch raſh and groundleſs Aſſertions.*

Our Editor however, to make good his Argument, tells us, * *that the World has ſeen enough what poor Work is made in this kind by meer Theologues without Claſſical Letters. A Theologue*, we ſee, is of all Creatures moſt contemptible to him; how does he *wipe him* at every turn *with old Conſcience* †, *Caſuiſtical Drudge* ‡, *Splitter of Caſes* ‖? *&c.* Nay, his Friends tell us plainly, that *theſe Theologues* are ſo very ſilly as not to *ſubſcribe for his Edition*, and ſo muſt needs make *poor Work on't* indeed by *preaching on* ſtill out of the *old dull Text of* Stephens *or* Mill.

* p. 36.
† p. 35.
‡ p. 22.
‖ p. 42.

Yet what *Theologues are theſe*, I would fain know, who have made *ſuch wretched Work in their Editions of the Scriptures?* The World, I am ſure, has been as much obliged *to ſome of them* in this Way, as to any Men who have yet appeared in it; and owes the *nobleſt Editions of the Bible* now extant to *the Learning and Induſtry of meer Theologues.* This may be proved

[*a*] Vid. Diſſertation upon *Phalaris*'s Epiſt. examined by the Honourable Mr. *Boyle*, p. 68.

by

by ſuch an Authority, as he himſelf cannot diſpute, even his *own Words*; for in *his Remarks on Freethinking*, he ſays [*a*], *As Scaliger, Caſaubon, Heinſius*, &c. *when they deſigned to publiſh a correct Edition of an Author, firſt laboured to procure all the Manuſcripts they could hear of, as the onely Means that promiſed laudable Succeſs; ſo* Stephanus, Junius, Circellæus, Walton, Fell, *and* Mill *proceeded in the ſame Method. All theſe, except Stephens*, ſays he, *were Chriſtian Prieſts*, that is, *as profound, true Theologues* as ever were. But we ſee how deſirous he is to make up Matters with *theſe Freethinkers*, and for *the civil things* he once ſaid *of the Prieſts*, reſolves to make them Amends by *paying off the poor Theologues.*

But he checks * me here very properly with having forgot that he had *preached eight Sermons about thirty Years ago at Mr.* Boyle's *Lectures*; and he might have added *two more* ſince that time, *one at Court, the other at the Univerſity.* How therefore could *his whole Life be ſpent in Critical Niceties?* The Reflection I own to be juſt, *the Sermons* were quite out of my Head; but ſince he has put me in mind of them, I muſt do him the Juſtice to confeſs, that they are *undeniable Proofs* of his *profound Skill* and *great Experience in Theological Learning*; and it is well for him he went *no farther*; for he might

* p. 56.

[*a*] Part. 1. p. 74.

otherwiſe have been in danger of paſſing for *as meer a Theologue* as his *two Predeceſſors Barrow* and *Pearſon*.

And now he is very ſevere upon me for the
* P. 56. *Choice of* * *my Motto in the Title-page of my Remarks:* For whilſt I thought to have given *a Hint by it*, how *our Critic was like to lay about him, in mangling the ſacred Text, Peter Burman*, it ſeems, from *whoſe Oration* it was taken, was all the while *onely in Jeſt*; but what's that to the Purpoſe, except he could prove *me* to have been *in Jeſt too?* If a *Dutch Orator* will needs be talking *Senſe* the *wrong Way*, why may not I take the Liberty of *turning it to the Right?* The Senſe of *a Motto* is not, I preſume, to be looked for onely in the Author from whom it was borrowed, but in *the Application of the Bor-*
† ibid. *rower.* But *he thanks me kindly* † *for my mention of Peter Burman*, and takes the Opportunity of paying his Compliments upon *this Oration of his, which*, he ſays, *is a very fine one in its Way, all writ in* Lucian's *Manner, a thorough Irony and Jeer.* And it is indeed as *thorough a Jeer* as ever yet appeared, and *as dull an one too*, upon *the Church, the Clergy*, and every thing *ſerious* and *ſacred in the Practice* and *Principles* of both; it is juſt, as he tells us, *to let his Audience know, that to make a profound Theologue there's no need of any Skill at all, either in Languages, or Hiſtory, or Eloquence, or Critic.*

We

We have *one feeble Fling more*, ſays he, * and *this Paragraph is done*; and yet *this feeble Fling*, which he makes ſo *light of*, is nothing leſs than a *glaring Contradiction* between *his Specimen* and *Propoſals*. *He declares that he will not alter one Letter in the Text, without Authorities ſubjoined in the Notes*; and yet I have ſhewn that he has *altered many Letters in the Greek, without ſubjoining any Authorities*; and made *a verbal Emendation in the third Verſe of the Latin, even contrary to all the Authorities he ever ſaw*. As to *the firſt*, he ſays, † *that the Reaſon of Literal Emendations could not be made appear in this ſhort Specimen*; as if *his Specimen*, let it be *as ſhort* as he pleaſes, had not *as much Room* in Proportion, as any other *Part*, or the *whole* of his *Edition*. But obſerve a little, how *acutely* he defends himſelf. He had undertaken *to ſubjoin* the Reaſon of *every literal Alteration*; but now he ſays, *'twas not to be done; the Reaſon of ſuch Alterations could not be made appear*, that is, I had charged him with a *Contradiction*, and he owns that he had *promiſed an Impoſſibility*. As to the *verbal Emendation*, tho' *he had*, he ſays, *no Manuſcript for it, yet he had ſuch cogent Reaſon as is equal to Authority*. But to ſhew him, that I have no Mind to quarrel with him merely *for Letters*, or *an Alteration or two of the Latin Text*, I will produce a *Greek Emendation* he has made, [*v.* 8.] *viz.* ἔβλεψα *changed* by him into ἴβλεπον, in all the *three Editions of his Propoſals*, without *the leaſt Syllable ſubjoined in the Notes*, either *of any Authorities*, or *any of his cogent Reaſons*. But

* p. 37.

† Ibid.

there might not perhaps *be room enough* for this neither within the Compaſs of ſo *ſhort a Specimen*; and this indeed muſt be ſaid for him, that *no Editor* ever contrived to huſband *his little Room* more dextrouſly; for *many of his Emendations* appear with no *longer Train* or *Attendance* after them, than that onely of a *ſingle Manuſcript.*

Paragraph the Sixth.

"*If the Author has any thing to ſuggeſt towards a Change of the Text, not ſupported by any Copies now extant; he will offer it ſeparate in his* Prolegomena; *in which will be a large Account of the ſeveral MSS. here uſed, and of the other Matters which contribute to make this Edition uſeful. In this Work he is of no Sect or Party; his Deſign is to ſerve the whole Chriſtian Name. He draws no Conſequences in his Notes; makes no oblique Glances upon any diſputed Points, old or new. He conſecrates this Work as a* κειμήλιον, *a* κ[ῆ]μα ἐσαεὶ, *a* Charter, *a* Magna Charta, *to the whole Chriſtian Church, to laſt when all the Antient MSS. here quoted may be loſt and extinguiſhed.*

REMARKS.

Our Editor is here very ſevere upon me for being ſo mute * where *ſo fair an Occaſion* was given me of diſplaying my Parts, and for taking no notice of *the plauſible Topics* he had thrown in

* P. 37.

in my Way, *Emendations* and *mere Conjectures, not ſupported by any Copies now extant; of no Sect or Party; no Regard to any diſputed Points. The Topics*, I own, are *good* and *fruitful*; but they did not at that time come at all within the *Scheme* or *Deſign of my Remarks*. He was here giving us an Account onely of what he *deſigned to do in his* Prolegomena, a Work, which we have not yet ſeen *any Specimen* of; and my Buſineſs was onely to diſpute *about Fact*, and to meddle no farther *with his Edition*, than as it was *exhibited* and *appeared in his Propoſals*; however, if we live to ſee his *Prolegomena publiſhed*, he will hardly have any Reaſon to complain of my *neglecting* him; for I ſhall be very ready to do him Juſtice on the Occaſion, and let *his Subſcribers* know what a Penny-worth they have got for their Money. But is it not ſtrange in the mean while, that he ſhould be ſo *ſmart* upon me in *one Part of this Paragraph*, of which I had not taken the leaſt Notice, and yet have nothing at all to ſay to me *in the other*, of which I had taken ſo much? Is not this like a *true Bully*, to vapour and ſwagger when the Coaſt was clear, yet ſneak preſently out of ſight as ſoon as an Adverſary appeared? And yet I had ſaid enough here, one would think, to make it *ſcandalous* for him to be ſilent, either as a *Critic* or *a Chriſtian*; I had proved upon him *a manifeſt Blunder* and *Soleciſm* in the Uſe and Application he had made of a *Claſſical Greek Word*; I had ſhewn *his Inſolence* to be but

little ſhort of Blaſphemy, in the Stile he aſſumed of *granting Charters to the Chriſtian Church*; all which he thinks ſufficiently anſwered by calling it *an aukward Ridicule upon* Κειμήλιον *and* Magna Charta.

We have had *Great* and *Learned Editors of the Bible* from all the principal Countries of *Europe*; but I defie e'er a *Gaſcon*, *Italian*, or *Spaniard of them all* to ſhew me ſuch a piece of *true*, *genuine Rhodomontade* as this *very Paragraph*.

Having already ſhewn us how *accurate* and *correct* he is in the *Uſe of his Greek and Latin*, he comes now to give us a *Specimen* of the great Propriety of *his Engliſh*: For in *this Paragraph*, having promiſed *Immortality to his Labours*, he tells us, *that his Edition is to laſt, when all the antient MSS. are to be extinguiſhed.* This *Extinction of Manuſcripts* I have, it ſeems, cavilled at in *my Remarks*, as a *barbarous Phraſe*. But I cannot make *our Critic* apprehend, that I mean *any Soleciſm* or *Abſurdity in the Expreſſion*, but a *Cruelty* onely and *Barbarity* in *the Thought of extinguiſhing Manuſcripts*; it cannot enter into his Head, that *to extinguiſh*, is properly applicable onely *to Fire*, either *real* or *metaphorical*; either *the thing* it ſelf, or ſomething *analogous to it*; but he ſtill blunders along for a *whole Paragraph* together, to prove by many *Inſtances of Hiſtory*, that as *cruel* as the Thought

is,

is, it is however a *true one*; and that *Manuſcripts have really been extinguiſhed* in ſeveral Ages and Countries by *Jews*, *Turks*, *Infidels* and *Hereticks*. Some of his Inſtances are *pleaſantly ridiculous*; *the Library of Alexandria*, ſays he, * *conſiſted of nothing elſe but Manuſcripts?* and *were not the Manuſcripts extinguiſhed when the Library was burnt? Again, whence have we our famous Manuſcript at* Cambridge? *Was it not from a Monaſtery in* Lions? *And how could ours have been preſerved, when the Monaſtery was plundered, if its Manuſcripts had not been extinguiſhed?* From theſe Premiſſes he concludes, that *our Maſter's Thought is not ſo barbarous, as our Cenſor's Cavil is ignorant and ſilly.*

* p. 38.

The Reader muſt needs think him ſtrangely *deſtitute of Friends*, that he had no body near to *adviſe him* on this Occaſion; to hinder his expoſing himſelf at this Rate. Where was *his Overſeer* and *Corrector Mr. John Walker?* Why could not he let him know, that the World would never endure *ſuch Trumpery?* Some body ſhould indeed be *ſo free*, as to tell him that he is *now grown old*; that *his Parts* and *Learning* are plainly *running upon the Dregs*; that 'tis time for him *to have done*, and think of *quitting the Stage*, before he be quite *hiſſed off*.

Paragraphs

Some farther REMARKS *on the Propoſals,*

Paragraphs the Seventh and Eighth.

To publiſh this Work, according to its Uſe and Importance, a great Expence is requiſite: It's deſign'd to be Printed, not on the Paper or with the Letter of this Specimen, *but with the beſt Letter, Paper, and Ink that* Europe *affords. It muſt therefore be done by Subſcription or Contribution. As it will make Two Tomes in Folio, the Loweſt Subſcription for Smaller Paper muſt be Three Guineas, one advanc'd in preſent; and for the Great Paper Five Guineas, two advanc'd.*

The Work will be put to the Preſs, as ſoon as Money is contributed to ſupport the Charge of the Impreſſion; and no more Copies will be Printed than are ſubſcribed for. The Overſeer and Corrector of the Preſs will be the Learned Mr. JOHN WALKER *of* Trinity-*College in* Cambridge; *who with great Accurateneſs has collated many MSS. at* Paris *for the preſent Edition. And the Iſſue of it, whether Gain or Loſs, is equally to fall on Him and the Author.*

REMARKS.

From *theſe two Paragraphs* I have obſerved, how this *great* and *glorious Deſign*, under Pretence *of doing Service to common Chriſtianity*, dwindled here at laſt into a *mere Money-Project*, contrived and purſued onely for *Gain* and *filthy Lucre.*

Lucre. Our Editor, in his Anſwer, laughs onely at *my Simplicity*, for being *ſilly enough* to imagine, that there could *be any thing elſe* in it: *For without that indeed*, ſays he, † *what Senſe*, † p. 38. *what Uſe in Propoſals?* We would have had him publiſhed, I warrant ye, *ſome whining, canting Advertiſement, to beg the Advice onely* and *Aſſiſtance of the Learned*; to deſire *no other Contributions* than of *Manuſcripts* and *Materials*, proper for *ſo great* and *pious a Deſign*, No, no; he knows too well *the Senſe and Uſe of Propoſals*; and it cannot be denied but that *thoſe now before us* are the *moſt compleat* in their Kind, the *moſt effectual* for carrying on *the Learned* and *Laudable Trade of begging*, that ever before appeared. How *artfully does he barter and higgle* with us here, to *quicken the Market*, and gain *his Price* upon us? But of this I have already ſaid enough in my *former Remarks*.

However, ſince he has been ſo kind, as to let us into the Secret of the *true Uſe* and *Senſe of Propoſals*, *viz.* the *begging Subſcriptions*, I ſhall in return give him a *piece of Advice*, which he may probably find Reaſon to thank me for; that is, *to get his Propoſals read in Churches by way of Brief on Sundays*. This, I am confident, muſt be the ready Way of making *the beſt Penny* of them; he may eaſily try the Experiment in *his own Archdeaconry*; and in *making the Eſſay*, * *muſt needs reap glorious Fruits of his Sagacity* * p. 20. *and his Labour*; for *twenty Churches burnt* to the Ground

Ground can never draw *our Money* from us ſo freely, as the doing *ſo ſignal a piece of Service to the whole Chriſtian Name.*

SPECIMEN. See the Specimen in my former Remarks.

REMARKS.

We are now come to a *Review of his Specimen*; where *our Editor* makes himſelf *very merry* with what I have ſaid about his *borrowing all his Materials from Dr.* Mill: For he demonſtrates † by a *nice* and *curious Calculation*, that of *ſixty Emendations*, which he has made *in the Text, the Doctor agrees with him onely in four*; *diſſents from him in three*; *ſtarts one contemned by our Maſter*; *who has fifty-two yet remaining entire to himſelf*, his own proper Goods and Chattels.

† p. 40, &c.

Vide quantùm timeam cachinnos tuos ut etiam nunc eadem ingeram. Hieron.

But he may *laugh* as much as he thinks fit, I ſhall however ſtick to *my Point*, and give him the Pleaſure of affirming *once more*, that *all his Materials* are *borrowed*, or *ſtolen*, or *plunder'd*, call it which he pleaſes, *from Dr. Mill's Magazine.*

The *Doctor's Deſign in his Edition*, was, as I have

have before obſerved, to ſubjoin to *Stephens's Text* all the *various Readings* now known, with their *diſtinct Authorities*. This *our Editor* calls a *Promptuary to the Judicious and Critical Reader*; and from this *Promptuary* has taken *every ſingle Reading*, without *one* Exception, of all *thoſe fifty-two* which he ſo confidently calls *his own*. And what is this, I would fain know, but *ſtealing from Dr. Mill?* Was ever *any Theft* more evident, or more fully proved than this? *The Goods* are found upon him; are known to be *Dr. Mill's*; and he himſelf has *owned the Fact*.

There's another of his *Remarkable Contradictions* very proper to be taken notice of here. He told us, we know, and took a great deal of Pains to prove it, that *Dr. Mill had put all his various Readings upon equal Credit to the great Offence of many good Perſons*; yet now he has been labouring *for a whole Page* together *, to prove *juſt the contrary*; that he was ſo far from *putting all his Readings upon equal Credit*, that in this *ſingle Chapter of the Specimen*, he had *diſtinguiſhed four of them as true*; *three others as falſe*; and *one as dubious*.

* p. 41.

But our Editor informs † us here, *that his Deſign in this Edition, is no more than to give us an accurate or authentic Greek Text*, or as he explains it in another Place, § to reſtore the Text to *Truth*, *Certainty* and *Order*; a Deſign truly

† p. 40.

§ p. 32.

truly *modeſt* and *worthy of himſelf.* He deſigns onely to *do that,* in relation *to the Greek*; which he had charged as a kind of Impiety upon the † *Papiſts,* for executing *onely in the Latin,* viz. *the authorizing and authenticating a particular Edition.* Out of the *Plenitude of his Power,* and by his *ſingle Authority* he declares his own *Greek Text Authentic*; yet will not allow to *two ſucceſſive Popes* [*a*] *aſſiſted by the moſt Learned Men of* Europe, and *backed by a Council, to declare the ſame of a poor Latin one.* Nay, he goes much farther than *the Church of Rome*; for *his Edition* muſt not onely be *authentic,* but *accurate too*; whereas the *Council of Trent* contented themſelves with making the *Vulgate Verſion authentic* to the People, but did not pretend to call it *accurate* or without Faults, but *quite the contrary.*

† p. 26.

Rob. Stephens's Edition of the New Teſtament has been univerſally received and acquieſced in by all People, *Proteſtants* as well as *Papiſts*; tho' not as the *very Original Infallible Text,* yet as in the main a *very correct one,* or at leaſt not *groſſly corrupt* and *imperfect.* Nay, *our Editor himſelf* has formerly given it the high Character of a *beautiful* and *generally ſpeaking accurate Edition, which,* as he ſays [*b*], *has ever ſince been counted a Standard, and followed by all the reſt.*

[*a*] Vid. Serm. on Popery.

[*b*] Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 68.

Yet

Yet after all, he now pretends to have diſcovered in this *very Text of Stephens* * *above ſixty* * p. 42.
Faults, within the Compaſs of one and twenty Verſes. If this Proportion be obſerved *through the whole*, what a *monſtrous Number* muſt *the Corruptions* amount to? They muſt make at leaſt, I dare ſay, twenty thouſand. And is not this *abſurd and incredible a priori*, as he calls it? Is it not a *direct Contradiction in Terms*, that *an Edition ſhould be generally accurate*, and yet ſo *ſcandalouſly faulty*? Muſt not the *Chriſtian World* have been *infatuated* and *himſelf* too, for admiring ſo long *an Edition as correct*, which appears at laſt, to be *more corrupt* and *interpolated*, than even the *very vileſt* of all *the recent*, † *ſcrub*, and *ſcoundrel Manuſcripts* he talks † p. 33.
of? 34.

But we ſhall ſoon ſee a good Account of this Difficulty, and how eaſy it is to find *ſuch Faults* as he does, with *Stephens*, or any *other Editor* whatſoever, by examining *ſome* of his *principal Emendations*, that are to make *this Text* of his ſo *accurate* and *authentic*. I had taken notice of *one of them*, in *my Remarks*, as a *Taſte of his great Sagacity and Judgment*; but this he is pleaſed to call ‡ a *nauſeous Taſte of my own Ar-* ‡ p. 42.
rogance and Pedantry. In the ſecond Verſe of *his Specimen* he has put ἐν]ευθεν ϰ᾽ ἐκεῖ]εν into the *Text*, inſtead of ἐν]ευθεν ϰ᾽ ἐν]ευθεν which all *other Editors* but *himſelf* had preferred as the *genuine Reading*. Now *this Alteration of his*

is

is ſo far from adding any *Accuracy* or *Correctneſs to the Text*, that I will maintain it to be a *downright Corruption* of it; a *meer Blunder of his own*, for want of his *Characters requiſite*;

* p. 31. * *Judgment* and *Experience* in the *Style* and *Writings of the Apoſtle.* I have obſerved, that *the Phraſe is a pure Hebraiſm*, and that the *Hebrews* have no *other Way* of expreſſing themſelves on the Occaſion, but by a *Repetition of the ſame Word*; of which I gave a few Inſtances.

† p. 42. But here he tells us, † with his *uſual Wit* and *Smartneſs*, that my *three Hebrew Particles, when ſtript of their Garb, are no more, than Mizzeh umizzeh*; *Mippo umippo*; *Hennah vehennah*; and I ſhould have wondered indeed very much, if they had proved to be *any thing elſe*; it is juſt *as witty*, as to ſay, that *his boaſted Criticiſm*, when *ſtript of its Grecian Dreſs*, is *no more* at laſt, than *enteuthen kai ekeithen.* But let them look as *ſimple* and *naked* as he pleaſes; I am however content with finding them to be *juſt what I could wiſh them*; *juſt what I deſigned them*; and *juſt enough for my Purpoſe.*

It being allowed then, that *the Hebrews* always expreſs *this Phraſe* in the *Old Teſtament*, by *repeating the ſame Word*; I obſerved next, that *the Septuagint* likewiſe in *their Tranſlation* follow the ſame Manner *in Greek*, rendring it by ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα; ἐνῦεῦθεν καὶ ἐνῦεῦθεν. It is therefore highly probable, that St. *John*, who was a *Hebrew*,

brew, ſhould preſerve the *conſtant Idiom* of his *Native Language*, and when writing *Greek*, ſhould *(as all the other Apoſtles* generally do) copy after *the Stile of the Septuagint*. The *Critics* tell us [*a*] beſides, *that St.* John *of all the other Sacred Writers, abounds more particularly in Hebrew Phraſes*, and *that to underſtand the Senſe of his Writings, it is as neceſſary to know Hebrew as Greek it ſelf*; which gave me Occaſion to ſay; *that it is not poſſible to imagine, that he could uſe any other Phraſe in this Place, than the old Reading which our Critic has rejected.* But to make this Point ſtill plainer, I will prove it to him for once in *his own Way* of Reaſoning, which he is every where *ſo fond of*; and ſhew him, that beſides theſe *Arguments a priori*, which are as ſtrong and convincing as the Nature of ſuch Proof will admit, we have *Fact* and *Demonſtration a poſteriori* to prove the Truth of what I am aſſerting: For in the *onely other Place of this Apoſtle's Writings*, where he has Occaſion to uſe *this Phraſe*, he uſes likewiſe *the very ſame Words* ἐν[εῦθεν καὶ ἐν[εῦθεν, *John* xix. 18.] without any *diſputed* or *various Reading* at all upon it. But this *our Editor* takes not the *leaſt notice of*, thinking it either

[*a*] Minùs quàm cæteri Evangeliſtæ Græcè locutus eſt; Hebraicis phraſibus abundat, ut Hebraici Sermonis peritia, non minùs quàm Græci, ad ſenſum ſententiarum aſſequendum ſit neceſſaria. Cardinal. Tolet Argum. Comm. in Joan.

of *too little Moment* to be anſwered by him, or of *too much*; the Reader may judge which.

And now let us conſider, what he has to ſay in *Defence of his Reading*. He firſt tells us,

* p. 42. * *that the Senſe of either does not differ in a Tittle*, which is ſo far from being *an Excuſe* for him, that it is even *quite the contrary:* For what Occaſion had he then to *change a Paſſage*, which *all the Editors before him* had allowed *to be genuine*; and which is the *conſtant Phraſe* of the *ſacred Writers*; in order *to foiſt in a new Expreſſion* of his own, which is not ſo much *as once* to be found in *all the Scriptures*, either of the *Old* or *New Teſtament?* He tells us be-

† Ibid. ſides, † *that St.* Jerom *in his Latin Verſion of the Hebrew, varied the Phraſe, and tranſlated* [mippo umippo] *ten times* [hinc & inde] *for once* [hinc & hinc]. And what does he get by this, but to prove onely that *this Father*, in his *Tranſlation*, did not in Fact *ſtick ſo cloſely to the very Words*, as he would make us believe; and that if we were to follow *his Latin ſo ſcrupulouſly*, as he would perſuade us, it would, as I have ſaid, lead us onely *to corrupt*, inſtead of *correcting the Text?* But his main Excuſe is, that he was governed here *by Authority*, in the making *the Alteration*; that is, he found *eight Manuſcripts*, as he ſhews in *his Notes*, which declared *for it*; and yet he might find without doubt, if he pleaſes, *at leaſt twice the Number* declaring *againſt it*. But ſuppoſing ſtill,

ſtill, that *all the Copies* were agreed in his Favour, yet in the *third Verſe of the Latin*, we find him over-ruling the *united Teſtimony of all the Manuſcripts in the World*, for *Reaſons* which he calls as *convincing* * and *cogent as any Authority*; and yet he will not pretend that thoſe Reaſons are *half ſo cogent*, as what I have produced in this very Inſtance directly *againſt him*. But *he has had an Opportunity*, he tells us, † *to hear one of the beſt Judges in* England *ſay, after he had carefully read over his Specimen, that of his ſixty Changes of the Text, there was not one but what ſhould be there, as every knowing Man would allow.* And yet here I will ſtill *join iſſue* with him; and if he can produce *one Man* (*excepting two or three of Trinity College*) that paſſes either for a *wiſe* or *learned one*, who will declare *this very Emendation* to be *juſt*, and *preferable to the old Reading*; nay, who will not own it to be *ſpurious and corrupt*; I promiſe not to ſay *one Word* more againſt *his Edition*, nay to be content *even to ſubſcribe for it* my ſelf.

* p. 37.

† p. 40.

In the 8th Verſe, we find in *Stephens's Text*, καὶ ὅτε ἤκουσα καὶ ἔβλεψα ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ ἀγγέλου] where, as I have already obſerved, he has changed [ἔβλεψα. into ἔβλεπον] *contrary*, we ſee, to the Conſtruction of *the two other Verbs*, to which it is joined in the ſame Sentence, immediately before and after it, and yet without aſſigning *the leaſt*

Reaſon, or producing ſo much *as a ſingle Authority* for it; but whilſt he is altering here *ſo arbitrarily*, it is ſtrange that he ſhould take no notice of the *very next Word* [ἔπεσα] *a Word*, ſo far from being one of his *polite* and *elegant ones*, that it can hardly be counted *Greek*; and tho' we find it ſometimes in *the Scripture*, yet never, I believe, *without a various Lection*; and in this *very Place the Complutenſian Edition* and *ſome Manuſcripts* have inſtead of it ἔπεσον.

But the *chief Emendation* we find here is ſtill the *moſt unaccountable*; being evidently *falſe* and *ridiculous*, *viz.* πρὸ ποδῶν inſtead of ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν] the *Hebrew Phraſe* on this Occaſion is, *before the Face of his Feet*. St. *John* ſometimes uſes the *very Hebraiſm*; as *Rev.* iii. 9. προσκυνήσωσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.] ſometimes *that*, which comes *the neareſt to it*; *the very Expreſſion*, *which our Editor here rejects*, as in *this ſame Book of Revelation*, xix. 10. καὶ ἔπεσον ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ προσκυνήσαι] without *any difference of Reading*, obſerved upon it in *any Author* or *Manuſcript* whatſoever. But *our judicious Critic*, without any Regard to, or indeed any Notion of the *Apoſtolic Style*, has thought fit to change the *Phraſe of the Text*, into [πρὸ ποδῶν] an Expreſſion *wholly unknown* to the *ſacred Penmen*; not *once* to be met with in the *New Teſtament*; and yet he has *no better Authority* for the *ſtrange Freedom*

dom he is pleaſed to take, than *that of a ſingle Manuſcript.* But his *old* Argument, *ſcribe meo periculo*; which is of ſo much Uſe to him in *his Criticiſms on profane Authors*; muſt be underſtood likewiſe here, to ſupply the Defect of *his other cogent Reaſons.*

In the 5th Verſe, inſtead of the common Reading, καὶ χρείαν οὐκ ἔχουσι λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου] he has given us, καὶ οὐκ ἔξουσιν χρείαν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου] with what Juſtice I ſhall not at preſent examine; all that I would now obſerve upon it is, that for the Support of *this Alteration* he has *falſly alledged the Authority of the Coptic Verſion*; which I find to be *directly againſt him*, as appears by *the Tranſlation of it*, publiſhed by Dr. *Wilkins*, where *this Paſſage* runs thus; *neque opus habent lumine in illâ, neque lumine ſolis.*

In this Verſe likewiſe the *common Editions* have φωτίζει αὐτούς] *illuminat illos*; which our Editor has thought fit to change, with no great Reaſon, into φωτίσει *illuminabit*] but this might perhaps have been allowed him, if it were not for *the other Part of his Emendation*, ſupported by *the ſlender Authority of a ſingle Manuſcript onely* and *a Modern Greek Author*, viz. φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτούς, inſtead of αὐτούς] which is another *new Phraſe of his own*, never *once* made uſe of by *the ſacred Writers*, who conſtantly expreſs themſelves without *one Inſtance* that I can find

to the contrary, in the *very Form* and *Manner of Conſtruction*, which he here rejects; as St. *John* again particularly, in the *Chapter before the Specimen*, xxi. 23. ἐφώτισεν αὐ[τὴν] and in his Goſpel, i. 9. φω[τίζει πάν]α ἄνθρωπον.] Surely there never was *a truer* κακοζηλία than this; a *more ſenſeleſs, abſurd Affectation of altering* contrary to *all Reaſon, Judgment* and *Authority*, as if *the Merit of an Edition* depended meerly on the *Number of the Alterations* it exhibited; but he had a Mind, I preſume, to demonſtrate *by Experiment* the Truth of *an Aſſertion* he had formerly made [*a*], *that if we were to put all the thirty thouſand Readings into the Hands of a Knave or a Fool, yet with the moſt ſiniſtrous and abſurd Choice he could not extinguiſh the Light of any one Chapter.*

In the 11th Verſe we read, ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι, ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω] where inſtead of [δικαιωθήτω] he has put [δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω] into *the Text*, as the *Complutenſian Editors* had done before him. But tho' there is, I confeſs, the Shew of *great Authority* for *the Truth of this Emendation*, yet it ſeems ſtill very clear to me, that [δικαιωθήτω] is the *true, original Reading*; and that *the other* crept pretty early into *the Text* from *the Margin*, where it had been placed *by way of Paraphraſe* or *Explication*; which Dr. *Mill* has intimated likewiſe

[*a*] Vid. Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 76.

in

in *his Notes* as *his Opinion*. It is to *ſuch Marginal Notes*, as I have before obſerved, that we owe *moſt of the Interpolations of the ſacred Text:* And 'tis likewiſe hardly credible, that *a Phraſe* of *ſo difficult* and *obſcure Meaning* as [δικαιωθήτω] could ever *juſtle out of its Place*, *one* that was *clear* and *obvious*, and which no *Tranſcriber could boggle at*; but the contrary is very probable, and very common, *in all ſuch Caſes*, throughout *the Scriptures*. The *Latin Tranſlator*, whoſe Buſineſs was to regard *the Senſe*, would naturally give us what he found *in the Margin*, or what occurred perhaps to himſelf as the *onely Meaning of the Paſſage*; and ſo might prove afterwards *the main Authority* for taking into *the Text*, what at firſt was but *a Paraphraſe* upon it. But what *above all confirms me* in this Opinion, is the *very Authority of St. Cyprian*, which *our Editor* hath produced to *confirm the contrary*. He tells us, that *St. Cyprian interprets this Paſſage* by [*juſtus juſtiora faciat adhuc*] But he either does not know, or is pleaſed to conceal, how *the laſt Part* of the Sentence is likewiſe *rendred* by him, *viz.* [*ſimiliter & qui ſanctus eſt ſanctiora*] which makes it *evident* and *certain* that *both the Branches* of this Sentence ſtood in the *ſame Form* and *Conſtruction* with each other in St. *Cyprian*'s Copy; and that [ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω] was read as *undoubtedly by him*, as [ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω] which laſt no body diſputes.

But what is *moſt remarkable* in this Place, is to find him *once more falſly producing the Authority of the Coptic Verſion*, in Confirmation of *this Reading*; when it is in Fact *directly contrary* to it; agreeing altogether with *that of Stephens*, as tranſlated by the *Gentleman* above-mentioned, *viz.* [*juſtus juſtificet ſe, ſanctus ſanctificet ſe*] thus like an *experienced Officer*, by a *falſe Muſter-roll* of Authorities, he gains *the Pay* and *Credit* of Forces, he cannot produce; but he was confident here, again, I warrant ye, that *by keeping his own Counſel*, he ſhould have rendred all Diſcovery impracticable, yet the Obſervation was made and communicated to his Friends, (as I was accidentally informed) by a *Learned Foreigner* reſiding at *Oxford*, who was without doubt not a *little ſurprized* to catch *an Editor of the New Teſtament* (if we could believe it to have been wilful or deſigned) in ſuch a Fact and Inſtance of ſo plain a Falſification. 'Tis ſuch a *ſcandalous Impoſition* upon the World, as every *ingenuous Perſon* muſt needs abhor: if other Writers were to allow themſelves ſuch Liberties, what *Faith*, what *Credit* could there be among *Men of Letters?* But if any one will chuſe rather to look upon it as a *pure Miſtake*, and (what our Editor will hardly thank him for) to have been done *ignorantly*; 'tis however ſuch a *groſs Inſtance of Negligence*, as could not be excuſed in the *Edition of a profane Author*; much leſs in a Deſign

Deſign *ſo important* as this, where *the Blunder* muſt be perpetrated to *lateſt Poſterity*, in *a Work* already *conſecrated by its Author, as a Charter, and Magna Charta to the whole Chriſtian Church.*

When our Editor ſhall find himſelf able to anſwer theſe *further Remarks* upon *his Specimen and Propoſals*, I ſhall endeavour to exerciſe him ſtill, with a *few more* of the ſame Kind. In the mean while, the Reader cannot help ſeeing through *the ſhallow Artifice* of his taking the *laſt Chapter of the Revelations*, for *the Specimen of his Edition*; to perſuade us, that *the whole Work* is already done, and nothing wanting but the Encouragement of *Contributions* for the *ſending of it to the Preſs.* This, he imagined, would make the World *crowd in* upon him with *their Subſcriptions*, to ſecure to themſelves as early as poſſible *a Treaſure ſo valuable.* Yet it is more than probable, that this is *the onely Chapter of the Book*, which he has ſo much as attempted: For we may gather from an *unwary Confeſſion* he made, when * *excuſing the Blunders* * p. 19. *of his Specimen*; that he has not yet wrote out *the firſt foul Draught of his Deſign.* But as he learnedly expreſſes himſelf, † *Res ipſa loquetur*, † p. 14. *the Work will ſhew it ſelf:* For if he had got thro' the *reſt of the New Teſtament*, or had but *read it over*, with common Care and Obſervation, he could not have acquitted himſelf *here ſo blunderingly*; or if he had examined *onely the very*

very Writings of St. John, he could not poſſibly have miſtaken ἐν]εῦθεν κ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν· φω]ίσει ἐπ᾽ αὐ]ὰς· προσκυνήσας πρὸ ποδῶν· for *the Style of the Apoſtle.*

And now, after all the Pains and Labour *of this mighty Critic*, he is like to leave the *ſacred Text* juſt as *diſputable* and *uncertain* as he found it; and it will ſtill be as eaſy for other People to make free with and expoſe *his Readings*, as it was *for him* to find fault with *Stephens*'s; whilſt all the Service that *the Chriſtian World* can expect from this *celebrated Performance*, is to have the *Text of Scripture* made *ſtrange, aukward, and new to us*, by a *Number of Alterations*; *many* of which will be found at laſt *to be falſe*; *more queſtionable*; and *all (by his own Confeſſion) inſignificant.*

Our Editor concludes his Book with a very *ſubtle Dilemma*, or one of *his cleft-ſtick* * p. 31. * *Arguments*, that catches a Man on *both ſides.* If *they will needs*, ſays he, *attack an Edition before it's begun, let them put their Names to their Work*; *if they do not, they ſhall have no Anſwer*; *and if they do, they will need none.* I have already had *the Honour of an Anſwer* from him even *without my Name*; but *the Diſcovery of it*, I find, is like to alter the *Caſe*, and make me forfeit at once *all Merit* and *Pretence* to the ſame Favour again. Being conſcious however of *no Offence* that *my Name* has ever given;

given; nor of *any Infamy* upon it, to make it *odious* to any Man but *himſelf*, I am not at all aſhamed of producing it. And ſince it is, as he ſays, † *to die with me*, and *be buried ſhortly in Oblivion*; he muſt excuſe me the reaſonable Ambition of making the moſt I can of it *whilſt I live*; and that I may have *ſome Chance* for being known likewiſe *to Poſterity*; I am reſolved to faſten my ſelf *upon him*, and *ſtick as cloſe to him* as I can, in hopes of being dragged at leaſt by *his great Name* out of my *preſent Obſcurity*, and of finding ſome Place, though an humble one, in the *future Annals* of his Story. † p. 9.

And being willing, before we part, to give him all the Encouragement I can towards *anſwering me*, I here promiſe, that let him be as *ſevere* or *ſcurrilous* as he pleaſes upon *my Perſon*, *Morals* or *Learning*, I will not make my ſelf *ſo mean*, as to *take the Law* of him, or *proſecute Printer*, *Publiſher*, or *Author*; I ſhall be content to vindicate my Character with *the proper Weapons of a Scholar*, and do *myſelf Juſtice* as well as I can; being ambitious of *no greater* Reputation in the World, than what I ſhall find *my ſelf* always very well able to defend.

A TA-

A TABLE *of ſome of our Editor's apparent Contradictions and falſe Aſſertions obſerved in the foregoing* REMARKS.

In the firſt Paragraph of his Propoſals.

THE Printed Copies of the New Teſtament, both of the Original Greek and Vulgar Latin are taken from Manuſcripts of no great Antiquity—recent and interpolated.

CAſtigatiſſima omni ex parte vetuſtiſſimaque Exemplaria pro Archetypis haberemus, quorum tàm Græcorum quàm Latinorum multiplicem copiam, &c. Præf. Bibl. Complut.

Tantæ prætereà vetuſtatis ut fidem eis abrogare nefas videatur. Prol. ibid.

Adhibitis in conſilium utriuſque linguæ codicibus, nec iis ſanè quibuſlibet, ſed vetuſtiſſimis ſimul & emendatiſſimis. Eraſm. ad Leo X.

Codices ipsâ vetuſtatis ſpecie pæne adorandos. Rob. Steph.

Our Editor in his Letter to Dr. *Mill* ſays, *Infinitam vim codicum MSS. curiosè excuſſiſti.*

And ſpeaking of ſome onely of his MSS. *Atque hæc quidem talia Exemplaria, cum aliis omnibus ubivis gentium, quod ſciamus longè longèque & dignitate & tempore antecedant neque quidquam hodiè ſuperſit ſimile aut ſecundum.*

In his Third Paragraph.

A Labyrinth of thirty thouſand various Readings, which crowd the Pages of our preſent beſt Editions, all put upon equal Credit, to the Offence of many good Perſons.

In his Remarks on the Free-thinkers.

Dr. *Mill*, if we are to believe not onely this wiſe Author, but a wiſer Doctor, has been labouring to make the Text of Scripture precarious, by ſcraping together ſuch an immenſe Number of various Readings, as amount to above thirty thouſand. *Part* 1. *p.* 1.

Several Prieſts of greater Zeal than Knowledge have oft by falſe Alarms frighted others. *Ib.*

Had the learned Dr. *Whitby*, and the greater Part of the Clergy,

What is it your *Whitbyus* ſo inveighs and exclaims againſt? *Ib.*

which

which from his Alarm took that Offence, no common Senſe at that Time? *p.* 32.

Paragraph the Third.

All the various Readings put upon equal Credit to the Offence of many good Perſons.

That the Readings in Dr. *Mill*'s Edition, which accompany the Text, are put upon equal Credit, without Rejection or Preference, (except in ſome Places that make the preſent Points of Controverſy) is certain and notorious.

Paragraph the Third.

The Author believes, that he has retrieved (except in very few Places) the true Exemplar of *Origen*.

In his Invective againſt my dead Friend he was ſuddenly ſeized with a Panic, and under his Concern for the Text did not at all reflect what the Word really means. *p.* 68.

Page 41, 42.

Speaking of the ſingle Chapter of his Specimen, he proves; that Dr. *Mill* has actually diſtinguiſhed four Readings as true; three others as falſe; and one as dubious; all which relate to no Point of Controverſy whatſoever.

And he may find, if he pleaſes, many more diſtinguiſhed by him in the very Notes, which accompany the Text of this Chapter, *v.* 5, 6, 11, 14, 18.

In his Specimen.

He has produced but three Readings from *Origen*, and rejects them all as falſe.

Para-

Paragraph the Fourth.

The Author gives in his Notes all the various Readings now known, within the five firſt Centuries, and what has crept into the Copies ſince, is of no Value or Authority.

In his Specimen.

He has omitted ſeveral Authorities of the five firſt Centuries, which Dr. *Mill* has given, as *Hilarius*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, v. 2, 5, 14. beſides ſome of the old Verſions.

He has cited *Arethas* about thirty times, who lived near the middle of the ſixth Century; *Greg. Palamas*, who lived in the 14th; the Complutenſian Edition very often, and even *Eraſmus*.

Paragraph the Fifth.

The Author is very ſenſible, that in the ſacred Writings there's no Place for Conjectures; and he does not alter one Letter in the Text without Authorities ſubjoined in the Notes; and places under each Column the ſmalleſt Variation from the Greek of *Stephanus* and Latin of the two Popes.

In his Specimen.

He has in the ſecond Verſe and elſewhere made ſome literal Alterations, without any account of them at all in his Notes: in the third Verſe of the Latin he has made an Emendation contrary to all the MSS. he ever ſaw; and in the fifth Verſe has made another verbal one in the

the Greek, without the leaſt Reaſon or Authority whatſoever ſubjoined or produced for it.

Page 43.

Neither Dr. *Mill* nor any of the other Editors take any Notice in their Collation of Manuſcripts of the Order of the Words.

Mill. Prolegom. p. 132.

Exemplar ipſum quod attinet, deſcriptum eſt literis—in quibus ſedulò à ſcriptore cautum eſt, ut Græca & Latina ſibi invicem reſponderent, verbum ferè verbo, ſervato plerumque eodem ipſo verborum ordine.

Page 42.

Arethas lived about the fourth or fifth Century.

M. *Du Pin*, Dr. *Cave*, Dr. *Mill*, and all who place him the earlieſt, ſay, that he lived near the middle of the ſixth, others ſay, not till the tenth Century.

Page 14.

Dr. *Mill* never once dreamt of the excellent Uſe of the Latin Vulgate, or ever collated one.

Mill. Prolegom. p. 142.

Veterem Novi Teſtamenti Italicam ſummâ veneratione proſequimur, ejuſque vel ſemeſa fragmenta auro contrâ non carâ ducimus. Reſtat jam ipſius Hieronymi inſpiciamus Exemplar. ib. p. 81.

Page

Page 18.

Of all which, Dr. *Mill*, with his incredible Diligence, knew no more than our Cenſor.

In his Printed Letter to Dr. *Mill*.

Tu verò, Milli doctiſſime, qui omnium mortalium maximè in eo ſtudio verſatus es.

Dr. *Mill* took all that heap of vicious Copies for one, and ſuperſtitiouſly and ignorantly made it his Idol, p. 26.

Niſi vererer coràm in os Te laudare, dicerem quàm longo intervallo aliorum omnium in eo genere laboris poſt te reliqueris.

A Piece of the moſt unfortunate and erroneous Critick that ever ſaw the Light, *p.* 26.

Te unum in hoc curriculum vocamus.

The moſt recent, the moſt vile, the moſt contemptible of all MSS. have ſome Share in the Honour of his genuine Readings, *p.* 33.

Omnia S. Patrum ſcripta, omnes antiquas verſiones, & infinitam vim codicum MSS. curiosè excuſſiſti.

Quis ſanus would argue at this rate?

As *Scaliger*, *Caſaubon*, *Heinſius*, &c. when they deſigned to publiſh a correct Edition of an Author, firſt laboured to procure all the MSS. they could hear of, as the onely

He

He follows ſuch ſcrub MSS. and ſuch ſcoundrel Copies, as our Maſter would ſcorn to look into, *p.* 33, 34.

Means that promiſed laudable Succeſs, ſo Dr. *Mill* proceeded in the ſame Method. *Free-th.* p. 74.

Omiſſions, the Doctor's peculiar Foible, *p.* 41.

Dr. *Mill* an accurate Examiner of MSS. p. 68.

Amicus Millius, ſed magis amica veritas, p. 26.

The Learned, Dr. *Mill*, (whoſe Friendſhip and Memory will ever be dear to me) meets with a ſorry Recompence for his long Labour of 30 Years. *Free-th. p.* 1. *p.* 61.

Page 27.

Four or five extant Copies of the Greek are older than any Latin one; but for Copies (of the New Teſtament) of a thouſand Years of Age, there are twenty Latin ones preſerved for one Greek.

Jac. le Long, a learned and moſt curious Enquirer after all the MSS. of the Bible, in his Catalogue of 100 of the beſt and oldeſt Latin MSS. now known in the World, tells us of none older than *Theodulphus*'s A.D. 790. mentions another of the Year 795. and

Page 20.

St. *Jerom* tranſlated into Latin a complain-

ing Letter from *Epiphanius* to *Chryſoſtom*, and was charged with warping the Words to *Chryſoſtom*'s Prejudice.

a third, of which he doubts, reputed to be 1000 Years old. *Vid. le Long Bibl. ſacr. Par.* 1709. *it. M. Martin's Defence of his Diſſert. in Eng.* p. 14.

This Letter of *Epiphanius*, tranſlated by *Jerom*, was not wrote to *Chryſoſtom*, but to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, to admoniſh him to quit the Errors of *Origen. V. Hier.*

The End of the Third Volume.